



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

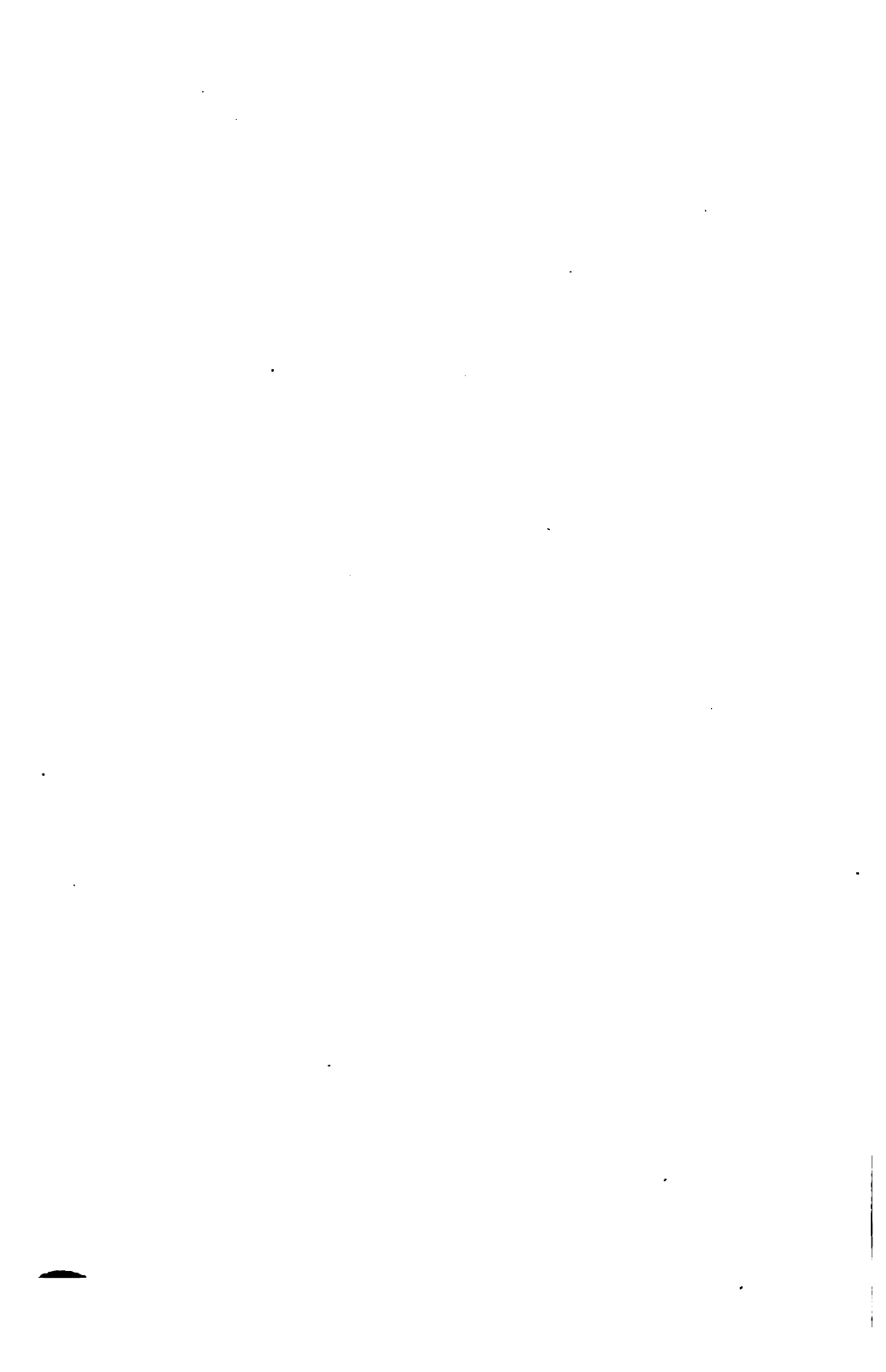
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

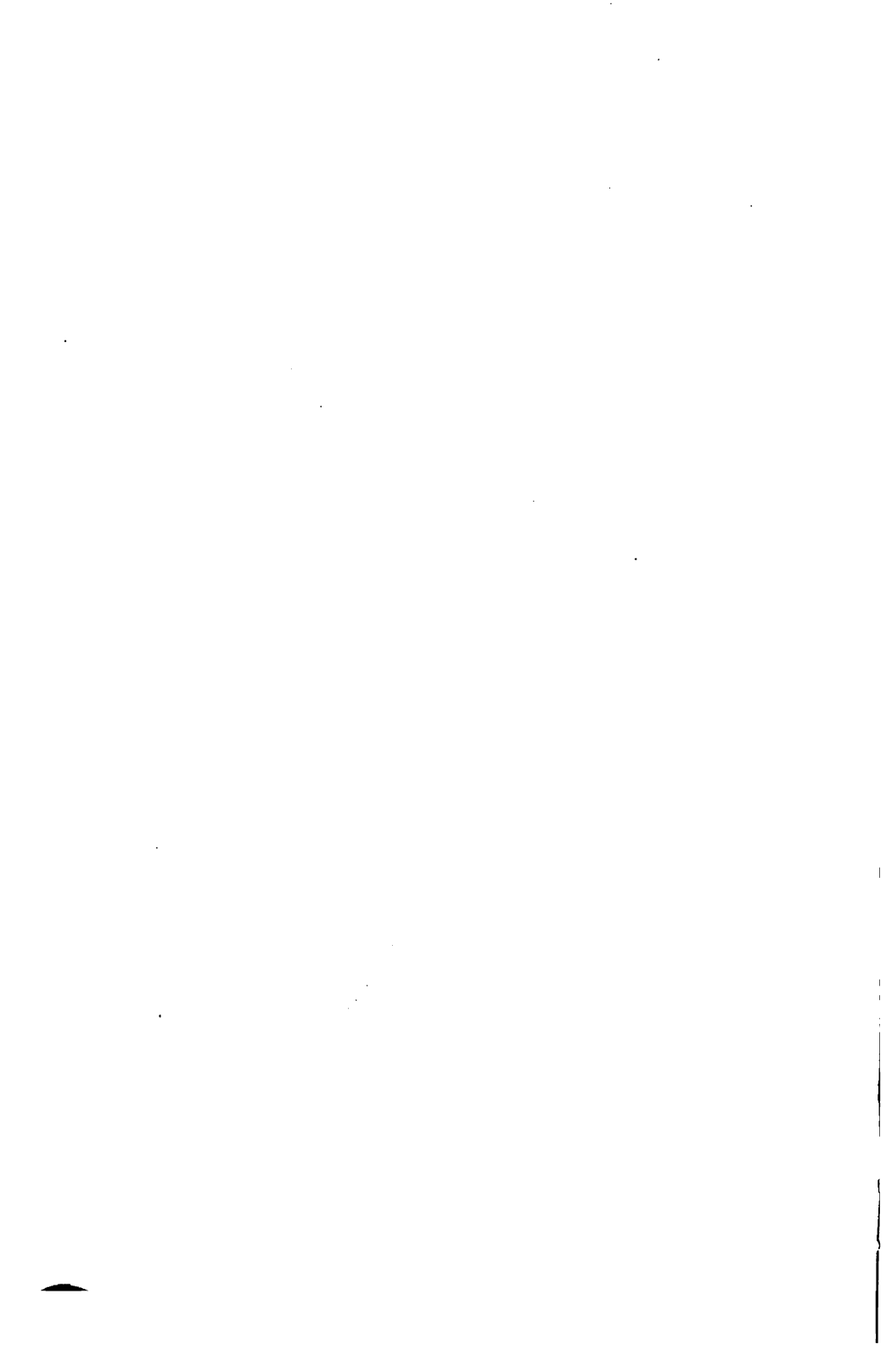
011114
D 1. Lanthorn, killed. - Chamber.
B. D

Ferguson
(Linlithgow)
CR





ECCLESIA ANTICUA







The Exterior of St Michael's Church.

[Facing Title page.]

ECCLESIA ANTIQUA

OR, THE

HISTORY OF AN ANCIENT CHURCH

(ST MICHAEL'S, LINLITHGOW)

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF ITS CHAPELS, CHANTRIES
AND ENDOWMENTS

BY THE

REV. JOHN FERGUSON

MINISTER OF LINLITHGOW

"There is no district, no town, no parish whose history is not worth working out in detail, if only it be borne in mind that the local work is a contribution to a greater work."

INTRODUCTION TO FREEMAN'S *Sketches and
Traces of Normandy and Maine.*

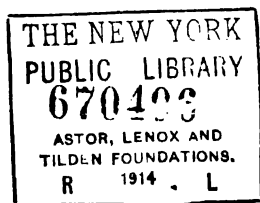
• • • • •

OLIVER & BOYD

EDINBURGH: TWEEDDALE COURT

LONDON: 10 PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

1905



NOV 23 1914
CLERK
YASSEL

To
THE PROVOST, MAGISTRATES, AND TOWN COUNCIL
OF LINLITHGOW

ESPECIALLY TO

Ex-PROVOST ANDREW GILMOUR

AND

PROVOST ROBERT JAMIESON

UNDER WHOSE KINDLY REGIMEN THE AUTHOR HAS SPENT THE
HAPPIEST PART OF HIS LIFE, THIS BOOK, THE STORY OF A
CHURCH WHICH, SINCE THE EARLIEST TIMES, HAS BEEN
CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH THE LIFE AND INTERESTS
OF THE ANCIENT BURGH, IS RESPECTFULLY
INSCRIBED

Stevens, Dec 18/13. 3/2

NOV 1958
3134
VIA RAIL

PREFACE

SINCE I became minister of Linlithgow, now over a quarter of a century ago, I have made it my pastime to collect information regarding the ancient church in which it is my privilege to minister. At first, this was done merely to gratify a natural curiosity, and with no intention of ever using the information collected; the information itself, moreover, was of such a scrappy character that it did not give much promise of any ultimate result; but as the accumulation increased, there began to appear the possibility of a consecutive narrative, and then the thought occurred to me, that I might endeavour to weave the whole into a web. The pattern, now that the web is before me, is, I fear, rather indistinct, and the web itself far from perfect, but, such as it is, I venture to place it before the public.

The sources whence the information has been taken I have indicated in the footnotes. For the earlier chapters, the chief source has been the Chartularies of several of our ancient *Religious Houses*; and for the later, the Records of the Burgh and Kirk-session of Linlithgow. In some chapters I have given merely the name of the source, while in others I have quoted the proof *in extenso*. My reason for doing so is, that I am anxious to give portions of an ancient MS. volume—the *Liber curiae capitalis burghi de Linlithgow*—in so far as it bears on ecclesiastical affairs, a wider circulation than it has yet received, albeit the efforts of the numerous Clubs and Societies, which have been formed for the publication of such documents. I have also printed in the Appendix two charters, two Instruments of Sasine, and a

deed of presentation to an altar within St Michael's Church. These are given to illustrate a phase of church-life which is now almost forgotten in Scotland ; but which, far apart as we may be from it in feeling and conviction, was a prominent feature in the religion of our forefathers.

Some of the chapters will probably strike the reader as dealing with matter which scarcely deserves to be printed. Such, especially, may be thought the case with respect to the chapter treating of the abolished *second charge*. Yet I have thought it proper to include that chapter, as an illustration of the greater freedom which the Church of Scotland, in some respects, enjoyed in the eighteenth century, than she was permitted to enjoy in the nineteenth. If the Lords of Session, who decided that a chapel minister could not legally sit and vote in a Church Court, had considered the previous practice of the Courts of the Church of Scotland, they would probably have found that their decision deprived the Church of a freedom which, rightly or wrongly, she had enjoyed from the Reformation till that time. We have, in this second charge at Linlithgow, a proof that the clergyman in possession of a Teind-stipend, and the clergyman voluntarily supported, had, for centuries before the chapel at Stewarton was built, sat together in the Church Courts, and enjoyed equal rights and privileges ; and it might have been better for religion in Scotland to-day, if the rights of heritors had been safeguarded otherwise than by deciding that the possession of a legal stipend was necessary to a clergyman's enjoying the full status of a Presbyterian.

I have to confess that the book which I submit to the public is local, both in its theme and in the manner in which that theme is treated. It is, in fact, simply the history of a fabric. It does not profess to deal with the ecclesiastical history of Linlithgow, a burgh which was the scene of Church Councils and General Assemblies, held both before the Reformation and after it. If I had dealt with the ecclesiastical history of Linlithgow, I might have found material for an interesting chapter in the trial of those ministers who were imprisoned in Blackness for their views as to the legality of the Aberdeen Assembly. But all such topics I

have carefully eschewed. I have tried also to avoid the error, too common in such books as this, of using a local fact as a text on which to hang a general disquisition on the period. My aim has been to tell the story of the fabric of St Michael's Church in so far as it can now be ascertained; and should the learned antiquary (which I do not profess to be) find me in error, or be able to supplement my narrative, his corrections or additions will be welcome as contributing to the end which, in writing this book, I have had in view.

For such a book as this I cannot anticipate a very wide circle of readers. Naturally, it will appeal only to those who have some connection with, or interest in, the ancient Royal Burgh of Linlithgow. Yet such persons, and even others, may find some advantage from the perusal of a thoroughly local book. It supplies a concrete example of church-life in the various centuries; and with slight variations, is, in fact, a history of every other ancient church.

I have had occasion in the body of the book to correct various popular fallacies with respect to Linlithgow Church. One, however, which has not been dealt with, I may refer to here. Linlithgow Church, according to several eminent authors, was one of the *ancient collegiate churches of Scotland*. It is surprising to find such a respectable writer as Walcott falling into this error. That some of my parishoners should occasionally speak of it as the cathedral, or the abbey, may be forgiven on the ground of ignorance, or from a desire on their part to magnify its importance; but that such a learned writer as the author of *Scoti-Monasticon* should place it in the list of collegiate churches, shows that, after all, ecclesiastical antiquities, even south of the Tweed, are not always perfectly understood. The earliest known fact in connection with Linlithgow Church, is that it was gifted by David I. to the Bishop of St Andrews, for the use of the priory which he was about to establish there; and if Dr Walcott had mastered this fact in all its bearings, he should have been saved from the error into which he has fallen. No *appropriated* church could be a collegiate church: for, being already the property of Regulars, it could not, without an injustice which no pontiff would have tolerated, have been turned into a college

of Seculars. The truth is, Linlithgow Church was never more than a parish church. If it has anything exceptional in its size or grandeur, this may be easily accounted for by its proximity to the favourite country-residence of the Stewart kings. Though, however, only a parish church, it is without doubt, as has been said of it by a learned architect, "the finest specimen of an ancient parochial church now existing in Scotland."

I take this opportunity of conveying my thanks to James Russell, Town-Clerk of Linlithgow, for access to the Burgh Records; to Professor Cooper, of the University of Glasgow, for several valuable hints; to John G. B. Henderson, of Nether Parkley, Linlithgow, who kindly gave me the use of ancient charters and other valuable documents; to James Beveridge, M.A., Rector of Linlithgow Academy, and James Forbes, Headmaster of Linlithgow Public School, for reading and correcting proofs; and especially, to the Reverend Thomas Lugton, M.A., minister of Kingscavil, for his untiring labours in reading and making excerpts from many volumes of minutes, and for his assistance in correcting proofs, without whose help the publication of this work should have been delayed for several years.

THE MANSE, LINLITHGOW,
November 1st, 1905.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

EARLIEST ANNALS—1124-1242

PAGES

Date of the foundation of St Michael's Church unknown. The ecclesiastical condition of Scotland in the twelfth century. The ancient Deanery of Linlithgow. The first mention of Linlithgow Church. St Michael's gifted by David I. to the Bishop of St Andrews, and not, as is usually supposed, to the Priory. Similar gifts examined in proof. How St Michael's came to belong to the Priory. The eminent positions held by several of the vicars of Linlithgow. The proportion of the revenues of the church allotted to the vicar and the proportion assigned to the canons	1-10
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------

CHAPTER II

DURING THE WARS OF INDEPENDENCE—1242-1424

The consecration of St Michael's Church. This consecration does not prove that a new fabric was erected at that time. The service-book used by Bishop David de Bernham. Charters dealing with the possessions of Linlithgow Church. The churches of Linlithgow and Haddington mensal churches of St Andrews Priory. An early disputed settlement in Linlithgow. The strife which ensued on the death of Alexander III. Foundation of a Carmelite monastery at Linlithgow in 1290. Edward I. sleeps on Linlithgow moor on the night of the 13th June 1298; he fortifies the castle of David I.; the nature of his fortification; the character of the army which he brought to Linlithgow. The Church of Linlithgow used as

	PAGES
a granary. A petition from the Prior and Canons of St Andrews, <i>re</i> the church, addressed to Edward I. Petition from the Brethren of Torphichen. The silence of original documents as to Binnock and his hay-cart stratagem. How Linlithgow Palace was taken. The total destruction of Linlithgow in the reign of David II. Revival of the town. Restoration of St Michael's Church in the reign of Robert II. Destruction by fire of the town of Linlithgow, and of the nave of St Michael's Church	11-21

CHAPTER III

A CENTURY OF GROWTH—1424-1524

The chancel used as the church. Queen Joanna a worshipper in St Michael's Church. A chantry founded by James I. Fines in the reign of James II. paid towards the fabric of St Michael's. Walcott's errors corrected. No evidence of James III. having built the nave. Vicar John Laing. Vicar William Hepburn. Masons at work in Linlithgow in the reign of James IV. Action taken by the Town Council in providing money towards the expense of building the present church. Generosity of James IV. to the church. Active part taken by Henry Forrest of Magdalens in the movement. A bell dating from reign of James IV. St Michael's Church never a royal chapel. The vision which appeared to James IV. in St Michael's. Continuation of building operations in the reign of James V. Vicar George Crichton ; his generous gift to St Michael's. The story of the stalls erected in St Michael's Church for the Knights of the Thistle without foundation. The gathering storm	22-37
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------

CHAPTER IV

ON THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION—1524-1560

St Michael's a burgh church. The control over the church exercised by the magistrates. The magistrates patrons of the altars. The extent to which the magistrates exercised their authority. The interest which they took in the church. The manner in which they exercised their patronage. The carelessness of the priests. The conduct of the monks. Nemesis. A provincial council held in Linlithgow. Attempt to reform	
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--

CONTENTS

XV

PAGES

the church made by the magistrates. Steps taken by them to prevent the alienation by the priests of the endowments of the altars. The Linlithgow martyrs. Ninian Winzet, the champion of the old faith. The <i>cleansing</i> of St Michael's by the Reformers. New difficulties created by the Reformation. Methods taken by the magistrates to secure the endowments of the altars. A <i>tulchan</i> chantry-priest. Success of the magistrates in securing the endowments of the altars	38-55
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------

CHAPTER V

AFTER THE STORM—1560-1646

The records of Linlithgow burgh. An Episcopal visitation of the parish. Fitting up the first Protestant church. The Protestant view of a church. The strange use to which St Michael's was put. Windows supported by the Incorporations. The care taken of the church by the magistrates. Resolution of the magistrates to support the <i>Quere</i> . Movement towards fitting up the nave as the parish church. <i>Twa tassies</i> for the Holy Communion. A proposed reallocation of pews. Edinburgh University removed to Linlithgow Church. A second minister supported by the Town Council. Resolution that all the members of the Council and the Deacons of the Incorporations attend the church regularly. The early Protestant Church to a considerable extent a lay church. The character of the services. Continuation of the ancient arrangement as to the hours of ringing the bells. The second minister's stipend. The reader	56-67
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------

CHAPTER VI

RESOLUTIONERS AND PROTESTERS—1646-1669

Ruinous condition of St Michael's Church in the seventeenth century. Attempts at restoration. How the money required was raised. An unfortunate schism. Deposition of both ministers. The town-clerk in trouble. A "pretended Session" and an "East Presbytery." The Rev. Mr Guthrie's ordination occasions a turmoil. The Rev. William Weir settled; his settlement questioned by the Synod. Rev. Mr Weir imprisoned. The Rev. James Ramsay called. Oliver Cromwell at Linlithgow. A division of the church sanctioned	
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--

by General Monk. The schism healed. The return of the king. Burning the Solemn League and Covenant. The Covenanters accused of drowning eighty women and children at Linlithgow Bridge. Rev. James Ramsay becomes Dean of Hamilton. The esteem in which he was held in Linlithgow . 68-80

CHAPTER VII

THE CHURCH IN THE NAVE—1669-1812

Another movement for the restoration of the church. The ruinous condition of the roof. Methods adopted to raise funds. Opposition of the Incorporations. Stinting the inhabitants. Extent of the restoration. Pulpit changed from the north side of the church to the south side. New arrangement of pews. New arrangement discussed. Building of lofts. Restoration of the windows by the Incorporations. Control over the fabric of the church exercised by the Kirk-session. Delay of the Landward Heritors in providing pews. Inquiry by them as to their rights. How the Town Council recouped themselves for the cost of the restoration. Additional pews erected. How it fared with the ministers at the Revolution. A pugnacious schoolmaster. Opinions of travellers who visited the church. The weathercock blown down. Providing a new bell ; its cost 81-99

CHAPTER VIII

BACK TO THE CHANCEL—1812-1890

The condition of St Michael's Church on the occasion of the induction of the Rev. James Dobie. A panic caused by reports as to the condition of the roof. Official reports by local tradesmen, and by an Edinburgh architect. The arrangement made as to the proportion of the cost to be borne by the Heritors and Town Council respectively. Method adopted by the Council for raising the necessary funds. Colonel Ferrier of Belsyde, convener of a joint-committee of Town Council and Heritors. It is agreed to move the church to the chancel. Protest of Sir Alexander Seton of Preston. How the chancel arch came to be destroyed. Plan of restoration prepared by Mr Gillespie adopted. Congregation granted the use of the Anti-burgher meeting-house during the

CONTENTS

xvii

	PAGES
restoration. Restoration of the alarins. Cost of the total restoration. The reallocation of the pews. A roup of the pews. Dispute as to the trees in the churchyard. Litigation with Captain Hamilton of Westport. Anxiety as to the condition of the church tower. Reports taken as to its condition. Removal of the crown. Restoration of the window of St Katherine's aisle	100-120

CHAPTER IX

THE DEMON OF RESTORATION—1890-1896

Another restoration proposed. Favourable influences at work. Reasons for the restoration. A fortunate legacy. Character of the restoration proposed. The removal of the galleries. Removal of the whitewash. Building a new vestry. Cost of the vestry. Laying the floor at the original level. A new chancel arch. A new heating apparatus. New oak pews for the nave and transepts. Stalls for the chancel wanted. Adding to the organ. Presentation of a new pulpit. The principle followed in this restoration. Restoration incomplete. What is wanted. Stained-glass windows gifted to the church	121-129
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------

CHAPTER X

ANCIENT CHAPELS CONNECTED WITH ST MICHAEL'S CHURCH

The multiplicity of chapels in the twelfth century. Revenue of mother-churches threatened. Methods adopted to safeguard the interests of mother-churches. Chapels connected with St Michael's Church. The Chapel of Benyn. The Chapel of Auldcathie. Ochiltree Chapel. Tartraven Chapel. Torphichen Chapel. St Ninian's Chapel at the West Port. St Mary's Chapel at the East Port	130-139
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------

CHAPTER XI

CHANTRIES AND CHANTRY PRIESTS

A chantry defined. The <i>raison d'être</i> of the chantry priest. The chantry priests controlled by the Town Council. How	6
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---

an obit was intimated to the public. The positions of most of the altars in St Michael's Church unknown. How the chantries were endowed. Such permanent endowments not the whole revenue of the chantry priests. Pluralism before the Reformation. The altar the home of the priest. A *camera* or room occasionally a part of the endowment of an altar. A chantry priest's residence. The social position of the chantry priest. His education. His reputed failings. The magistrates of Linlithgow and the chantry priests. A chantry priest's band. His fate at the Reformation. The endowments of the altars given to the burgh. How the Magistrates and Town Council fulfilled their trust. How they lost the endowments. A list of the altars . . . 140-156

CHAPTER XII

THE CLERICAL SUCCESSION—1264-1878

- I. *Roman Vicars*.—1264, Dominus J. ; 1286, Dominus Robert ; 1363, Dominus Adam ; 1378, Henry de Rane, M.A. ; 1416, Patrick de Howiston ; 1461, John Laing ; 1472, Henry Boyis ; 1488, William Hepburn ; 1492, John Wallace ; 1520, George Crichton ; 1529, David Smith ; 1559, Patrick Frenche.
- II. *Protestant Ministers*.—1561, Patrick Kinloquhy ; 1610, Robert Cornwall, M.A. ; 1626, John Cornwall ; 1646, David Drummond ; 1650, Ephraim Melville, M.A. ; 1653, Alexander Guthrie, M.A. ; 1655, William Weir, M.A. ; 1655, James Ramsay, M.A. ; 1665, Alexander Seton ; 1691, William Weir, M.A. ; 1699, Alexander Dalgleish, M.A. ; 1727, Robert Dalgleish, M.A. ; 1759, James Hogg ; 1778, John Scotland ; 1792, James Dobie, S.T.D. ; 1826, Andrew Bell, D.D. ; 1862, Donald McLeod, D.D. ; 1869, Archibald Scott, D.D. ; 1872, Thomas Brown William Niven, D.D. ; 1876, James Barclay, D.D. . 157-224

CHAPTER XIII

THE SECOND CHARGE—1630-1751

The Rev. Hew Scott in error. The earliest reference to a second charge. How it fared with the Rev. Andrew Stewart. The Rev. David Drummond. How the second minister was paid. Mr Drummond translated to the first charge. The Rev. Thomas Inglis called to fill the second charge. An early Decreet of locality. The Rev. Ephraim Melville. Three

ministers in Linlithgow. Preaching in Calder's barn.	
Rival disciplinarians. Rev. William Brown elected second minister.	
General Monk's attitude towards the Resolutioners and Protesters.	
The Rev. Alexander Seton and the magistrates.	
The Rev. Mr Burnett settled in the second charge.	
Efforts made to secure a legal stipend for the second minister.	
An Episcopal visitation.	
Pacifying the Incorporation of Tailors.	
The Council's kindness to the Rev. Mr Trent.	
Mr Trent deprived of his living by the Privy Council.	
Mr Seton squeezed out.	
Mr Trent starts an Episcopal congregation in Linlithgow.	
Efforts to suppress the Episcopal meeting-house.	
Return to Linlithgow of the Rev. William Weir.	
Further efforts to secure a legal stipend for the second minister.	
The kirk-session's view as to the fitness of one church to serve the wants of the parish.	
Generosity of the Town Council.	
A bond given to the Presbytery for the second minister's stipend.	
The Rev. Andrew Barclay called to the second charge.	
The Rev. Robert Dalgleish.	
The Rev. Robert Spears.	
The abolition of the second charge	225-247

CHAPTER XIV

THE READER AND PRECENTOR—1592-1752

Did the ancient clergy join the Reformed Church? The last vicar of St Michael's.	
The first reference to a reader.	
The terms of his engagement.	
Subsequent readers.	
Mr William Bisset becomes reader in 1656.	
Bisset a Resolutioner.	
Bisset accused of drunkenness by the Protesters.	
Bisset squaring his accounts with the Protesters.	
The Rev. Alexander Seton and his colleague.	
Mr Seton's opinion of Bisset's officiousness.	
Bisset's petition to the Town Council.	
Bisset's death.	
Bisset the last reader.	
The Town Council agree to pay a proportion of the precentor's salary.	
A musician desired.	
Mr James Bisset succeeds his father, but is dismissed at the Revolution.	
An <i>approved musician</i> appointed precentor.	
Withdrawal of the precentor's salary by the Town Council.	
Rival precentors in St Michael's.	
The quarrel intensifying.	
A litigation pending.	
The kirk-session successful.	
A claim against the Town Council.	
Robert Forrester, writer, appointed precentor and session-clerk.	
Another litigation threatened.	
The litigation avoided.	
A period of peace.	
The introduction of an organ into St Michael's Church.	
No further payments made by the Town Council.	248-261

CHAPTER XV

THE ENDOWMENTS OF ST MICHAEL'S—1124-1905

PAGES

1. Tithes or spirituality No mention of tithes in the charter of David I. The earliest mention of tithes. Various kinds of tithes. How the tithes of Linlithgow were divided between the canons of St Andrews and the vicar of Linlithgow. Nature of tithes in pre-Reformation times. Second tithes. The leasing of tithes. 2. Lands and houses within the burgh and without. Parkley. The fourth part of the farm of Lochhouse. The curate's acres. A rent roll of the lands within the burgh. 3. Revenue from chapels. 4. Other possessions—(a) the rent of Manuel; (b) the rent of Lochcote. 5. Mills—(a) Manuel Mill, (b) Carribber Mill, (c) Kettleston Mill, (d) Riccarton Mill, (e) Ochiltree Mill, (f) Pardovane Mill, (g) Loch Mill. 6. Casual sources of revenue. Church property lost at the Reformation—(a) corpse-duties, (b) tithes, (c) the rents of chapels. How the remainder was disposed of—(1) Lands given to the Duke of Lennox, and afterwards in part to the University of St Andrews; (2) Annual rents of the altars given to the burgh of Linlithgow; (3) Tithes. A third reserved partly for the Church. Disputes as to tithes after the Reformation. Dispute as to the tithe of Linlithgow Peel. Mr Dalmahoy's complaint. The Duke of Lennox and the tithes. The tithes sold to the Earl of Linlithgow. The *valuation* of teinds in the seventeenth century. The history of the present stipend. The hardships of the first Protestant ministers. The first reference to the stipend of Linlithgow. Kinloquhy obtains the vicarage. Stipend paid by the Duke of Lennox. The stipend in 1611. Provision made for two ministers. The stipend halved. Two processes of augmentation at once. A good locality obtained in 1807. Augmentations since. The total now 262-280

APPENDIX I

1. The High (or St Michael's) altar	281-285
2. The (Burgh) altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary	285-290
3. The (Begis) altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary	290-292
4. The altar of St Anne	293-294
5. The altar of St Katherine	294-299
6. The altar of St Andrew	299-301
7. The altar of St Peter	301-302

CONTENTS

xxi

PAGES

8. The altar of St Ninian	302-304
9. The altar of St Bride	304-308
10. The altar of the Holy Trinity	308-312
11. The altar of St Sithe	312-313
12. The altar of St John the Baptist	313-316
13. The altar of the Holy Cross	316-318
14. The altar of St Salvator	318-319
15. The altar of St John the Evangelist	319-320
16. The altar of the Holy Blood	320-321
17. The altar of Corpus Christi	321-322
18. The altar of All Saints	322-323
19. The altar of St Anthony	323-324
20. The altar of St Elijius	325
21. The altar of St Nicholas	326
22. The altar of St Conan	327
23. The altar of St James	327
24. The altar of St Duthac	327-328
25. The altar of St Stephen	328
26. The altar of SS. Crispinus and Crispina	328
27. St Mary's Chapel at the East Port	328-329
28. St Magdalene's Hospital	329-331
29. The Sang Schule	331-332
30. The Carmelite Friary	332-334
31. The Augustinian Friary	334-335

APPENDIX II

Obits	336-348
-----------------	---------

APPENDIX III

Charters	349-357
--------------------	---------

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

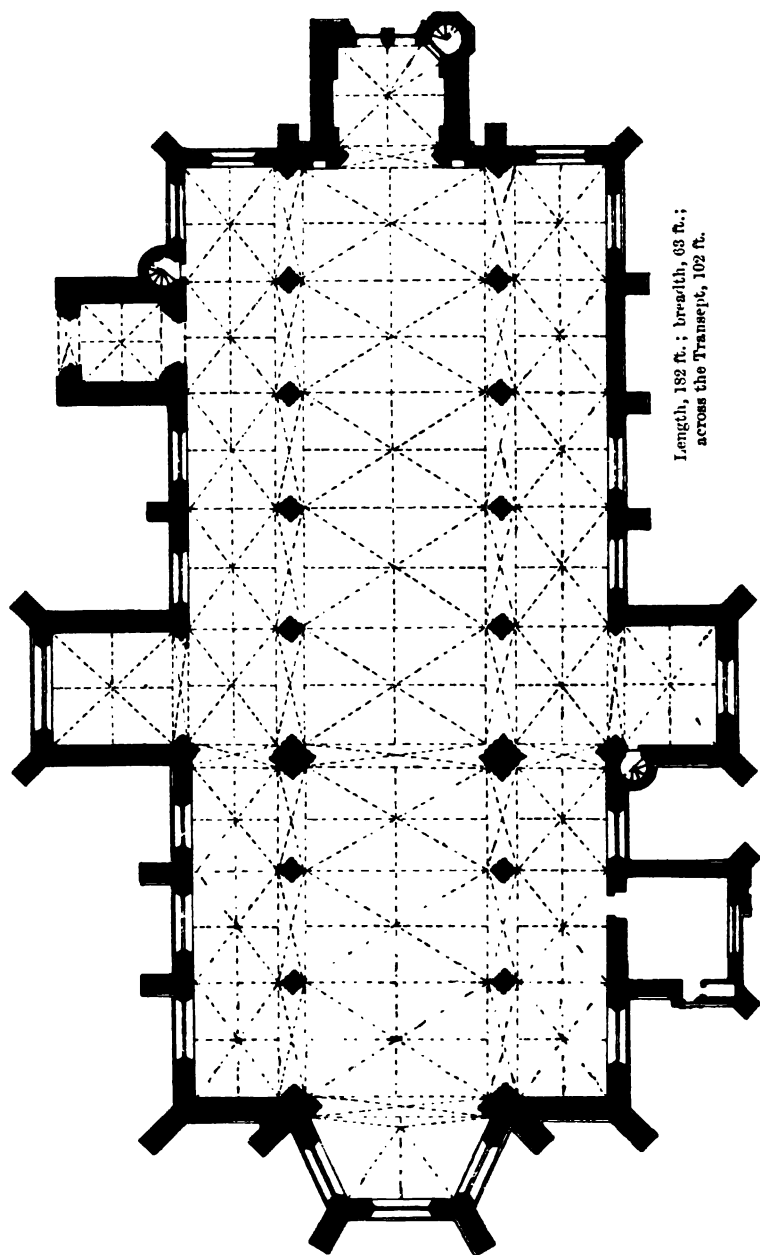
FULL-PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS

The Exterior of St Michael's Church . . .	<i>Facing the title-page</i>
Ground Plan of St Michael's Church . . .	<i>Facing page 1</i>
Seal of the Carmelite Friary	” 20
The Exterior of the Apse of St Michael's . . .	” 34
Ancient Seal of the Presbytery of Linlithgow . . .	” 66
Interior of St Michael's Church, as restored in 1812-13 .	” 110
Interior of St Michael's Church, as restored in 1812-13 .	” 112
View of the Tower, with Imperial Crown . . .	” 118
Window of St Katherine's Aisle and South Porch . .	” 120
Interior of St Michael's Church under restoration in 1894	” 124
Interior of St Michael's Church, as restored in 1894-96 .	” 126
Interior of St Michael's Church, as restored in 1894-96 .	” 126
The West Door, as restored in 1894-96	” 128
The Ruins of Auldathie Chapel	” 134
Panels from the Ancient Altar	” 156
Ground Plan of the Carmelite Friary	” 334

ILLUSTRATIONS IN TEXT

	PAGE
Arms of the Bishops of St Andrews	10
Monogram on the Ancient Bell	21, 67
Arms of the Burgh of Linlithgow	55
Arms of the Burgh of Linlithgow (reverse)	80





Ground Plan of St Michael's Church.

ECCLESIA ANTIQUA

CHAPTER I

EARLIEST ANNALS—1124-1242

"Nobile Limnuchum est, Pario de Marmore templum
Hic nitit, impensae non mediocris opus."

ARTHUR JOHNSTON.

It is impossible to ascertain the date at which a Christian church was first planted in Linlithgow. Such documents as would have made this possible, if, indeed, any such documents ever existed, have all perished. But that a Christian church existed in Linlithgow from a date considerably earlier than is usually assigned to its foundation, that, namely, of the reign of David I., seems a legitimate inference from the condition in which we find the church during his reign.¹

The twelfth century being the period in Scottish history at which the records dealing with St Michael's

¹ St Michael's, during the reign of David I., was, to use the language of those early times, a *Mother Church*, liberally endowed, and having already numerous chapels connected with it.

Church begin, it will conduce to a better understanding of them if we consider for a little the ecclesiastical state of Scotland at that time. The ancient Celtic Church, with its monasteries of peculiarly-tonsured monks, who devoted themselves to learning and labour, and its itinerant bishops, who wandered over the country, publishing to its inhabitants the knowledge of the gospel, was rapidly being suppressed, and under Anglo-Norman influence, the Roman was about to take its place. In the beginning of the century the new order was far from being completely organised; for, as yet, there was only one prelate in Scotland—the Bishop of St Andrews—who, with the title of *Episcopus Scotorum*, ruled over an immense diocese, which extended from Aberdeen to Berwick-on-Tweed, and from Stirling to the North Sea. This diocese, however, was very soon to be subdivided, and other sees erected, till the whole country, including the Western Islands, was ruled in spiritual matters by prelates, who were the superiors in rank and learning, and oftentimes also the superiors in wealth, of the ancient nobility. The twelfth century also witnessed the founding of numerous *Religious Houses*, and the importation into Scotland of orders of monks of a very different type from the simple Culdees, whom they supplanted. Under the auspices of Queen Margaret and her sons, a great ecclesiastical revolution was accomplished; and if in the reign of David I. there were still traces of the old Celtic Church, these were rapidly disappearing. It was, as a natural consequence of what has been

stated, an age of great activity and (truth compels one to add) of great genius in church-building. Then were erected those massive Gothic cathedrals and abbeys—the monuments at once of the devotion and of the architectural skill of the Middle Ages. Such, indeed, was the zeal for church-building during the twelfth century, that the people complained that they could not hear the sound of the gospel for the noise of workmen's hammers.¹ So great, too, was the revolution which the century witnessed, that ere it closed, Scotland had practically been brought into conformity with the Roman Church.

For purposes of administration, the diocese of St Andrews was subdivided into eight deaneries, of which Linlithgow was one. The deanery of Linlithgow included the churches of Mid and West Lothian and of the eastern half of Stirlingshire. There were in all *thirty-five* churches within the deanery of Linlithgow, and of these, St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, *Varia Capella* (Falkirk), and Linlithgow were the most richly endowed, being cessed in the reign of William the Lion at 160, 120, and 110 merks respectively. The average value of the churches within the deanery of Linlithgow at that time was 41 merks. St Giles', Edinburgh, which afterwards became the cathedral of a belated diocese, is cessed in this *taxatio antiqua* at only 26 merks.²

It is in the early half of this century, and doubtless in connection with the movement which has been

¹ *Forbes on Church-lands and Tithes*, pp. 103-4.

² *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, pp. 203-4.

described, that we first make the acquaintance of Linlithgow Church. David I., who had a castle in Linlithgow, was greatly interested in the new movement, and presented to his friend Robert, then Bishop of St Andrews, "the Church of Linlithgow, with its chapels, and lands, and all other rights belonging thereto."¹ The gift implies that the church belonged to the King; and this, in view of its fully-developed condition, would seem to point to the conclusion that it was founded by one of his ancestors. The probability is that it was the castle which created the burgh, and the burgh which necessitated the church; though all three may have existed prior to the reign of the saintly monarch, whose munificence to the monks of Holyrood² and the Bishop of St Andrews first acquaints us with their existence.

The prevalent opinion that David I. gifted the Church of Linlithgow to the Augustinian Priory of St Andrews is not supported either by the royal charters or by circumstantial evidence. The King's charters are still extant; and, what is unusual, there are *two* of them dealing with the same subject. In the one, David says, "I have given and conceded, and by this my charter confirmed, to God and St Andrew the apostle, in perpetual charity, the Church of Linlithgow, with its chapels and lands within the burgh and without, and all other rights belonging to the same church, [to be devoted] to the lights of the church and to the vestments of the canons serving, and to serve God

¹ *Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree*, pp. 186-7

² *Liber Cartarum S. Crucis*, p. 6.

there."¹ In the other, which is addressed to "all the faithful sons of the Catholic Church," the purpose of the gift is stated differently. "I have conceded," says the good King, "and given in perpetual charity to God and St Andrew the apostle, the Church of Linlithgow, with its chapels and lands and all other rights belonging to the foresaid church, to the support of the lights of the church, and *if there be any balance* it is to be devoted to the support of the minister of the altar of St Andrew."² There is no mention of the Augustinian Priory in either of these charters, unless indeed it be found in the reference to *Canons* which the former contains. But the cathedral, of course, would require canons of some kind, though, it may be contended, there is not the slightest indication in either of these charters that it was the intention of the Bishop, or of the King, that these canons should be *regular*; nay, it is possible to infer, from the fact that the canons were only to share the gift with the lights of the cathedral, and possibly also with the minister of the altar of St Andrew, that it may have been the intention of the Bishop to institute *secular canons*, or to turn the Culdees of St Andrews into such, if only these intractable ecclesiastics had been willing to fall into place and form a part of the new organisation.

Nor is it without some bearing on this subject, that in other charters of King David I., in which he

¹ *Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree*, p. 188.

² *Ibid.* In his *Early Scottish Charters* Sir Archibald C. Laurie pronounces the former of these charters *spurious*, and apparently with good reason.

gifts lands and churches to *Religious Houses*, the gift is made to the *Canons*, and not, as in this case, to the cathedral church. Take, for example, the charter in which he bestows the island of Lochleven on the Priory of St Andrews.¹ In that case the gift is made to the canons of St Andrews (*canonicis Sancti Andreae*), that they might institute on the island a canonical order; and the Culdees are plainly told that if they are willing to live *regularly*, in peace with the new canons, and subject to them, they may remain, but if not they are to be banished from the island. Bishop Robert is one of the witnesses to this charter, but not the recipient of the gift. Again, in the charter by which King David I. gifts the Church of Clackmannan, with forty acres of land, and a priest's toft, and another toft in Linlithgow, to the Monastery of Cambuskenneth, the gift is made "to the Abbot of Striveling and to the canons serving, and to serve God there."² Further, in a charter by which the same King gifts the lands of Kettleston, in the parish of Linlithgow, to the Monastery of Cambuskenneth, it is again "to the Abbot of Striveling and to the canons serving God there" that the gift is made.³ The dissimilarity between these charters and those dealing with Linlithgow Church is such as to suggest that the gift, in this case, was earlier than the founding of the priory; that, in fact, it was given in connection with the establishment of the cathedral system, and may be

¹ Keith's *Historical Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, p. 9.

² Chartulary of Cambuskenneth, No. 57.

³ *Ibid.*, No 170.

safely assigned to the commencement of Bishop Robert's episcopate.

The Priory of St Andrews was founded in the year 1144, some seventeen years after Robert had been consecrated to the See.¹ A relative of his own, who was also named Robert, was appointed the first prior. Bishop Robert, about the year 1144, gifted to the priory from the numerous possessions of his diocese the Church of Linlithgow, as may be learned from a charter of confirmation by King William the Lion, in which the possessions of the priory are enumerated, and in which, strange to say, Linlithgow Church is described not as the gift of King David, but of Bishop Robert.² Again, in a charter by King Alexander II., Linlithgow Church is described as the *gift of King David and Bishop Robert*.³ These things not merely confirm what is said above about the gift being made to the cathedral church, but they show the method by which it came into the possession of the priory. The King gifted it to the Church of St Andrew, while as yet the question of canons was not finally settled. In 1144, when the question had been solved by the establishment of the priory, the Bishop gifted it, with the Church of Haddington, to the canons regular whom he had imported from the South. It was thus, as King Alexander II. describes it, the *gift of King David and of Bishop Robert*.⁴

¹ Keith's *Historical Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, p. 387.

² *Registrum Prioratus S. Andree*, p. 214.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

⁴ I am pleased to find that this view, which was written before the publication of Sir Arch. Laurie's *Ancient Scottish Charters*, is practically the one given by that learned writer.

When Linlithgow Church had thus become the possession of the Augustinian canons of St Andrews, it fell to them to make provision for the supply of ordinances within it. This they did by appointing a secular priest, who, in consequence of his holding his appointment from them, and for them, was termed *the vicar*, or the *perpetual vicar*; the word *perpetual* meaning that he held his office *ad vitam aut culpam*. Thus, from the time of King David's gift in the beginning of the twelfth century until the Reformation, the Church of Linlithgow was served by a series of vicars. Some of these vicars rose to positions of great influence. One became Bishop of Dunkeld, and another Bishop of Glasgow and Lord High Treasurer. The vicars of Linlithgow, in those early days, were usually chaplains to the king, and were paid £10 annually, as the tithe of the royal possessions within the burgh.

Whatever may have been the benefits which it was hoped to secure by the presentation of churches to bishops and religious houses—and it is probable that it was intended to secure greater order and efficiency in the Church as a whole—one of its first results was to produce frequent quarrels between vicars and their superiors, as to the proportion of stipend to be paid to each. Evidence of such quarrels may be found in the chartularies. This difficulty, so far as Linlithgow is concerned, was avoided by the bishop having reserved to himself and his successors the right of fixing the amount of

salary to be paid to the vicar. In a charter by Bishop William Malvoisine¹ the matter is dealt with, and settled in a way which, as it probably furnishes a fair example of the usual arrangement, it may be well to quote at length. "The tithes," says the Bishop, "of the businesses of the burgesses and other merchants and contractors, the tithe of fruit, wax, ordinary and casual offerings alike of the living and the dead (the live animals given to the church with the bodies of the dead being excepted), the tithe of hay, flax, cheese, butter, pigs, geese, and poultry, with the house situated near the church for a residence, are given to the use and sustenance of the vicar." "Therefore," continues the Bishop, "we will, and by our authority ordain, that the vicars for the time being who are inducted into the Church of Linlithgow are to be content with the above-mentioned portions, and to be responsible to us and our episcopal successors. All the tithes of the land, and everything else in what way soever belonging of right to the above Church of Linlithgow, are held over in perpetuity, for the sole use of the canons of St Andrews."² By this arrangement the vicar would seem to have obtained what are commonly known as the *smaller tithes*, and a house; whereas the larger tithes, and other possessions of the church, were reserved for the canons. The proportion which went to each may be inferred from this, that, while the church (exclusive of its chapels) was

¹ Malvoisine was Bishop of St Andrews from 1202 to 1233.

² *Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree*, p. 159. Cf. chap. xv., pp. 263-4.

cessed at 110 merks, the vicar was cessed at 30 merks. The canons, in other words, had three-fourths of the whole ; yet the vicar of Linlithgow had as good a *living* as most of the vicars of appropriated churches.



CHAPTER II

DURING THE WARS OF INDEPENDENCE—1242-1424

“When to be a Scot was treason,
And to side with Wallace crime!”

PROFESSOR AYTOUN.

ON the 22nd of May 1242, the Church of Linlithgow was consecrated by David de Bernham, Bishop of St Andrews.¹

This consecration has been understood as denoting that the earlier church had passed away, and a new one been built in its place. It may have been so; for a church which was in existence in the reign of David I., even if it came by no misfortune, may well have become so dilapidated by the reign of Alexander II. as to require to be replaced by another. Yet the circumstances are such as to beget doubt in this case. Bishop de Bernham was a great consecrator of churches. He consecrated 140, or practically two-thirds of all the churches within the diocese of St Andrews, in three years.² This, taken in connection

¹ *Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree*, p. 348; and also, *Concilia Scotiae* (Bannatyne Club edition), vol. i., p. ccxcix.

² *Concilia Scotiae* (Bannatyne Club edition), vol. i., pp. ccxcviii.-ccciii.

with the well-known fact that the movement for conformity with Rome, inaugurated by Queen Margaret, was nearly completed by the time of De Bernham's episcopate, and also in connection with the fact that an order dealing with the consecration of churches was promulgated by Cardinal Otho in 1237, leads to the conclusion that while the church may have been a new one, this consecration does not necessarily prove that it was. Evidently, consecration of churches was the rage of the period.

The Service-book used by Bishop de Bernham in the consecration of churches may still be perused by those who are interested in such matters. After a lapse of six and a half centuries, it has been republished by a distinguished churchman, and affords an interesting example of the long and elaborate services which were in vogue in the Middle Ages. There is every reason to believe that it was this Service-book which was used in the consecration of St Michael's.¹

Having properly consecrated the fabric, Bishop de Bernham then gave his attention to the endowments of the church. There are two charters from him, granted just as the reign of Alexander II. was about to close, in which he deals with Linlithgow Church and its possessions. In the one, he grants the churches of Linlithgow and Haddington, with all their lands and endowments, to the canons of St Andrews *for their own use (in usus proprios)*, with the exception of the portion reserved for the vicar by

¹ Bishop de Bernham's *Pontifical*, edited by the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth.

Bishop William, his predecessor. In the other he deals with Linlithgow Church alone, and consequently gives a more detailed account of its possessions, but otherwise does not add anything or alter in any way the arrangement which had been made by Bishop Robert.¹ It is, however, worthy of observation, that the former of these charters links together, for the first time, the churches of Linlithgow and Haddington as *mensal churches* of the canons of St Andrews, an arrangement which existed for more than two centuries, and was treated as valid at the Reformation, when the property of these churches found a different destination from the other property of the See.

A charter dating from the last years of the reign of Alexander III. is so expressed as to suggest that there was something resembling a "disputed settlement" in Linlithgow even in those early days. The vicar, whose name is not given, had obtained another benefice, and the prior of St Andrews presented one Robert, a chaplain in the Church of Haddington, to the vicarage of Linlithgow. Did the parishioners object, or was it that the bailies of the burgh thought they were entitled to be consulted in the matter? It would be hazardous to guess. All that is known is that Bishop William Frazer in 1286 ordered the Dean of Linlithgow to induct the said Robert into the vicarage, *and to protect him when inducted.*²

With the death of Alexander III. there ensued a long period of strife, during which information regarding parish churches can scarcely be expected.

¹ *Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree*, p. 169.

² *Ibid.*, p. 403.

The period referred to is that in which the Scottish people were struggling for their national existence, when of necessity the pen of the scribe was to a great extent laid aside. Yet it may be chronicled here, as an indication of the prosperity of the burgh ere the Wars of Independence had begun, that in the year 1290 the burgesses of Linlithgow were sufficiently affluent to found on the south side of the burgh a Religious House, to be occupied by brethren of the Carmelite order.¹ This monastery existed till the Reformation, and no doubt did some good work in its day, though it has left no history behind it, nothing except the tradition of its existence, the record of occasional gifts to the brethren from our Scottish kings,² and two or three leases of their lands which a laborious antiquary has rescued from oblivion.³

During the Wars of Independence Linlithgow saw a great deal of that ambitious monarch, Edward I. On his way to the battle of Falkirk he slept, on the night of the 13th June 1298, with his army, on the Burghmuir of Linlithgow, where he had the misfortune to be wounded by a kick from his horse. In the winter of 1301-02 he took up his abode in Linlithgow from the end of October till the end of January, deeming it apparently a very good centre from which to rule the Scottish rebels. The castle of David I. became his home, and around it he constructed a peel *or fortified place*, of which the

¹ Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. ii., p. 874.

² *Lord High Treasurer's Accounts*.

³ The Laing *Charters*, Nos. 490, 621, 715.

parish church formed a portion. The nature of the ground is such as to lend itself easily to fortification—a little stockading and earthwork from the east and west ends of the church to the loch being all that is required. That this, moreover, and not a Norman keep or castle, was what Edward built, may be supported by authentic evidence. There is no indication of masons having been employed in such large numbers as would have been necessary to build a feudal castle in a few months. On the contrary, the Peel at Linlithgow, as may still be learned from the King's accounts, furnished occupation for 80 *ditchers* and 107 *carpenters for eight days*. Notwithstanding, therefore, the assertions of numerous historians that Edward I. *built* a peel at Linlithgow, it would be nearer the truth to say that he *constructed* a peel, meaning by the word "Peel" a stockaded or palisaded enclosure.¹

¹ The following note of expenses incurred in constructing the Peel at Linlithgow, will serve to show its nature better than pages of description :—

"*Fossatores*.—Ricardo de Merewille pro vadiis unius magistri fossatoris et iiii^{ss} fossatorum sociorum suorum, a xii die Novembris usque xvi diem ejusdem mensis, utroque computato, per quinque dies, viz., Magistro percipiente per diem *vid.*, vintenariorum, iiii^{d.}, et quolibet alio iiii^{d.}, lxxiis. *vid.*

"Eidem pro vadiis dicti magistri fossatoris et aliorum fossatorum prae-dictorum a xvii die Novembris usque xix diem ejusdem mensis, utroque computato per iii dies xliiis. *vid.* Summa cxvii.

"*Carpentarii*.—Eidem pro vadiis iiii^{ss} xix carpentariorum per dictum tempus quolibet percipiente per diem iiii^{d.}, xiii^{d.} iiiiis.

"Eidem pro vadiis viii aliorum carpentariorum a xvii die Novembris usque xx diem ejusdem mensis per iii dies, viiis.

"*Ingeniatores*.—Magistro Stephano Ingeniatori de praestito super vadiis magistri Ricardi de Alnewyke, ipso percipiente per diem *vid.*, et vii aliorum sociorum suorum, carpentariorum, quolibet percipiente per diem iiii^{d.}, viz., pro vadiis suis viii dierum [a] xix die Novembris ad xxix ejusdem, pro ultimo computato, xxiis. viii^{d.}

The army which Edward brought to the Peel of Linlithgow does not seem to have consisted of very exemplary characters. Many of them had been the occupants of English gaols, who were forgiven offences involving long imprisonment or death on condition of their going to Linlithgow on "the Scotch service."¹ To have been employed "in the Scotch service" was even the means of securing promotion in the church.²

"*Fabri et Caementarii*.—Galfrido de Windlesore de praestito super vadiis ii caementariorum, quolibet percipiente per diem iiiid. iis.

"Eidem super vadiis magistrorum Willelmi de Wylom et Walteri Deinas et xvij sociorum suorum caementariorum, magistro percipiente per diem vid., et quolibet alio iiiid., viz., per viii dies, liiis. viiid.

"Eidem pro vadiis vi hominum portantium aquam et facientium morteram 'caementariis praedictis' pro camera regis, per iiiii dies quolibet percipiente per diem iid., iiiis.

"Eidem pro vadiis iiiii fabrorum venientium de comitatu Northumbriae per ii dies [blank] die Novembris pro primo computato, per manus magistri Henrici de Gatesheved iis. viiid."—Stevenson's *Historical Documents*, pp. 441-2.

¹ "Pardon to Hugh Elsy of Swynesheved, by reason of his service in Scotland, for the death of Alan, son of Margaret de Byker, and of any consequent outlawry.

"Pardon to Robert de Cotis, by reason of his service in Scotland, for the carrying away of eight sheep in the fold of Elias, parson of the church of Ecclesvale at Cotis.

"Pardon to Robert de Rikelyng, and William and Nicholas his brothers, in the gaol of Marshalsea, for the death of John Rys of Fynchingfield, whereof they were appealed before the king in consideration of Philip le Lardener, of the county of York, Ralph de Manneby of the county of Suffolk, John de Rickelyng of the county of Essex, William de Cligwill of that county, John son of Ralph de Farnham of the county of Surrey, and William Hardyng of the county of Redeford, having undertaken before Master William de Grenefeld the chancellor, that they should forthwith set forth towards Lynliscu in Scotland, to remain there in the munition of the castle at their own expense until Michaelmas."—*Calendar of Patent Rolls*.

² "Power to John Wogan, justiciary of Ireland, to present Thomas, son of John, son of Thomas, in consideration of his service in Scotland, to an ecclesiastical benefice of the value of £100 a year, so soon as one shall fall vacant."—*Calendar of Patent Rolls*.

The Church of Linlithgow, as has been said, was a part of Edward's Peel or fortification. From the year 1301 till the peel was destroyed by Robert the Bruce, the parish church was used as a military storehouse or granary. This may be learned from the mandates issued by Edward for shipping provisions from England for the maintenance of his army in Scotland. As a rule they were shipped from Newcastle or other ports on the east coast of England to Blackness, with instructions to the Sheriff of Linlithgow to have them conveyed to the fort at Linlithgow, and stored in "the great church there."¹ Thus it is made evident that even in Edward's time there was *a great church at Linlithgow*. This is almost the only information which is to be had as to the nature of the fabric which preceded the present one.

In the year 1305, Edward I. was the recipient of a petition from the Prior and Canons of St Andrews that throws considerable light on the state of matters which obtained in Linlithgow at this time. As it, also, confirms the view which has been given of the character of Linlithgow Peel, it may be well to describe it here. In it the Prior and Canons of St Andrews pray King Edward, "seeing that he has made a camp and fortalice of their old church," which they describe as within the Peel of Linlithgow (*infra*

¹ "The said Robert de Bremmesgrave to send there 200 qrs. wheat, 60 casks wine, 300 qrs. malt, 60 qrs. beans, 400 qrs. oats, 30 qrs. salt, 200 qrs. sea coal. These to be sent to Blackness by water, the Sheriff of Linlithgow finding carriage thence when he can, at the King's cost, but without hindrance to the works at Linlithgow. The victuals to be stored in the great church there."—Bain's *Calendar of Documents*, vol. ii., p. 339.

Petum ejusdem villae), "that he would build to them at his own expense a new church." They also request that he would give them a certain "chapel annexed to the town of Linlithgow [St Ninian's Chapel at the West Port], with the adjacent lands belonging to the same, and make there a parish church." Edward, who was always anxious to secure the support of the clergy, and was liberal in his donations to them, remitted the matter for consideration, that it might be ascertained and reported to him at the next Parliament at what cost he could concede the said chapel and lands.¹

It is not known if Edward ever found time either to grant or refuse the petition. The following year Robert Bruce was crowned King of Scotland, and with his coronation the tide which had flowed steadily against the Scots began to ebb. Edward's death was not far away, and his successor on the throne of England was a man cast in a different mould. In 1305, when the prior and canons were asking for a new church, the brethren of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, at Torphichen, were petitioning Edward that their English brethren might be admitted within the peel at Linlithgow for their safety. Though in their petition they declare that "the land is now settled," it is evident that they had not much faith in the continuance of the settlement.² So rapidly did events develop, that in January 1307 Robert the Bruce, as King of Scotland, was in a position to grant to the

¹ *Records of the Parliament holden at Westminster* (A.D. 1305), edited by F. W. Maitland, 1893.

² Bain's *Calendar of Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 468.

monks of Culross the Barony of Philpstoun, lying in the sherifffdom of Edinburgh and the constabulary of Linlithgow.¹

It is strange that in no charter or original document is there any reference made to that "stout carl and sture" who is credited with having, by a clever stratagem, rescued Linlithgow Peel from the possession of the English. The story rests entirely on the authority of Barbour—a poet who could only have his information of the event which he narrates from the testimony of others, and those, perhaps, persons who were not in a position, even if they had wished, to sift the evidence for what they rehearsed.² The local version of the story asserts that Robert I. granted the lands now called Binny, or Binning, to William Binnock, from whom they derive their name, as a reward of his patriotic services. But all this is without foundation. The lands of *Binning* were so named long before the days of Robert the Bruce. In none of the numerous *Rolls* and *Registers* which have recently been published, for the purpose of preserving, and giving easier access to our ancient muniments, is there the smallest reference to Binnock or his patriotic stratagem. From the petition of Lucas de Barry³ it would appear that Linlithgow Peel had been besieged, and not, as Barbour alleges, taken by stratagem. It is certain, at any rate, that Lord Hailes, who follows Barbour in this matter,

¹ Robertson's *Index*, p. 4, No. 36.

² Barbour's *Bruce*, B. x., lines 148-250.

³ *Parliamentary Petitions*, No. 901, anno 1314.

is in error in assigning the taking of the peel to the year 1311, as there is documentary evidence that it was still in the possession of the English in 1313.

The probability is that the taking of Linlithgow Peel was one of the immediate results of Bannockburn; for Edward II., fleeing from the field of Bannockburn, was pursued to Linlithgow, and though still at the head of an army of five hundred cavalry, fled before one consisting of eighty Scots, without even attempting to strike a blow.¹

Nothing can be ascertained regarding Linlithgow Church during the reign of Robert the Bruce. After having formed part of a fortalice, and been employed as a military store-room, it would not be surprising if it stood in need of some restoration. This it could hardly receive during the reign of Robert I., who had other, and more important work on hand than restoring churches. In the early years of the reign of his successor, David II., Linlithgow hardly required a church, as, "on account of the distraction of the wars, it was uninhabited and totally waste."² But it would seem to have revived to some extent before the end of his reign, as in 1363 we find a grant made to Adam, the vicar of Linlithgow, of £10 yearly during his lifetime from the customs of the royal burgh.³

During the reign of Robert II. the vicar of Linlithgow was one Henry de Rane, M.A.⁴ He

¹ Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 121.

² Bain's *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 228.

³ Robertson's *Index of Charters*, p. 74, No. 72; also, *The Exchequer Rolls*, vol. ii., pp. 124 and 126.

⁴ *Rolls of the University of Paris*.



Seal of the Carmelite Friary.



seems to have taken a deep interest in the restoration of the church, though neither the nature nor extent of his efforts is known. It is certain, however, either that the old tower was restored, or a new one built, as the King's subscription of 26s. 8d. may be found in the royal accounts of the period.¹

Henry de Rane, M.A., was succeeded by William de Cowan, who, besides being vicar of Linlithgow, held two canonries—one in the Collegiate Church of Guthrie, and another in Renfrew.²

In the year 1411 the town of Linlithgow was destroyed by fire;³ and if Bower, the continuator of Fordun, may be believed, a similar fate befell the church in 1424.

¹ Et allocate per solutionem factam ad fabricam campanilis ecclesie de Lynlythca de elemosina regis, ut patet per literas regis de recepto, ostensas super compotum, xxvis. viiij*d*.

² *Rolls of the University of Paris*; also, *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, vol. ii., p. 316.

³ *Extracta e variis Cronicis Scocie*, p. 215.



CHAPTER III

A CENTURY OF GROWTH—1424-1524

“ And in Linlithgow’s holy dome,
The king, as wont, was praying ;
While, for his royal father’s soul,
The chanter sung, the bells did toll,
The bishop mass was saying.”
SCOTT.

It appears that the church was not so completely destroyed by the conflagration of 1424 as to render it unfit for use. Bower, the only writer who refers to this catastrophe, confines the injury done to *the nave*. It may, therefore, be inferred that there was a chancel, and that *it* was so fitted up as to do duty for a complete church, till such time as the nave could be re-roofed and otherwise restored. This, though only a supposition, receives some support from the fact that Queen Joanna—the milk-white dove—was among the worshippers in Linlithgow Church on a certain Sunday in 1429.¹

James I., though he is credited with having described the most generous of his predecessors on the

¹ *The Exchequer Rolls*, vol. iv., p. 485.

Scottish throne as a "sair Saunt for the croon," followed his example much further than one, judging from such a remark, or from the troubled state of the times, would suppose. An act, expressive of the King's interest in religion, which connects his name with Linlithgow, was the founding of a chantry in St Michael's Church. This chantry was dedicated to St James the apostle, and seems to have been supported by the King; at least, there is no reference made to it after his tragic death. During his reign the priest attached to this altar was one Sir William de Lany, who had a salary from the King of £6, 13s. 4d.—not by any means an unusual stipend in those days.¹

The reign of James II. is even more barren of information regarding Linlithgow Church than is that of his predecessor. In only one charter is it referred to, and the reference is of such a casual nature that it would be dangerous to attach too much importance to it. Perhaps, however, the fact that it is "*the fabric* of the church of the Blessed St Michael of Linlithgow" which is in this case to be the recipient of the fine, in the event of the conditions of the charter not being complied with, may be accepted as indicating either that the church was undergoing some restoration, or that the clergy were urging the necessity of making some effort to restore it.²

Nearly all the writers who have dealt with the history of St Michael's Church assign the nave of

¹ *The Exchequer Rolls*, vol. iv., p. 391; and also *The Chamberlain's Rolls*, vol. iii., p. 154.

² *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, anno 1450.

the present building to the reign of James III. Walcott says that it "has a nave of *four* bays, with groined aisles of the time of James III."¹ As, however, he errs regarding such a simple matter as the number of bays, it need not be wondered at if he should also err respecting the more difficult question of the age of the fabric. Mr Waldie finds a proof of the nave having been finished in the reign of James III. in the finial which surmounted the imperial crown on the tower—a hen and chickens, with the legend *non dormit qui custodit*—which he says was a favourite device of that monarch.² These, it will be admitted, are somewhat slender arguments by which to fix the date of an ancient church. The case would have been stronger if Mr Waldie had been able to adduce a single recorded subscription either by the King or any of his leading subjects, towards the cost of building a church in Linlithgow during this reign. But though the financial affairs of James III. have been laid open to the inspection of all, by the publication of the *Exchequer Rolls*, and of the "Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland," yet there is no evidence of such a subscription ever having been given. In fact, the acknowledged penuriousness of James III. creates a presumption against it. This, however, is not to be understood as a denial of the assertion that the nave of the church was built during his reign. Where there is no evidence for or against, it would be unwise either to affirm or deny. Besides, there is

¹ Walcott's *Scoti-Monasticon*, p. 365.

² Waldie's *History of Linlithgow*, p. 42.

left the possibility, even though the King may have done nothing, that the clergy or the magistrates of the burgh may have been actively engaged in providing themselves with a church.

In the reign of James III., the vicar of Linlithgow was one John Laing. Besides being vicar of Linlithgow and chaplain to the King, Laing held several civil offices of great honour and responsibility. In 1461 he was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal, for which office he had a salary of £6, 13s. 4d. per annum.¹ Standing high in the favour of his royal master, he was in 1463 sent to Peebles, where the King's Court of Exchequer was to meet for that year, that he might act as one of the auditors of it.² He seems to have been an auditor "specially deputed by our Supreme Lord the King" at the Exchequer Courts of 1468 and 1469.³ Between the 12th July and the 17th September 1470, he was appointed Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, an office which he held till 1st December 1474.⁴ On the 7th March 1473, on the recommendation of the King, he was appointed by the Pope to the See of Glasgow. He was Bishop of Glasgow from 1473 till 1482, when he died.⁵ During the last few months of his life he filled the high and important office of Chancellor of the kingdom. Crawford conjectures that his promotion to the chancellorship may have been the reward of his services in reconciling the King and his brother, the Duke of

¹ *The Exchequer Rolls*, vol. vii., pp. 67 and 154.

² *Ibid.*, p. 175.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 599.

⁴ *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer* (Preface).

⁵ *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (Preface to), p. xlix.; and, Keith's *Historical Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, p. 253.

Albany.¹ Of all the vicars of Linlithgow, Laing filled the greatest place, alike in the estimation of his sovereign and of his countrymen. Yet there is no indication in any of the records of the period of his having done anything—either personally, or by way of interesting his royal master in the fabric of St Michael's—towards providing a new church.

John Laing was succeeded in the office of vicar of Linlithgow by William Hepburn. The Hepburns of Hailes were an ancient and powerful family, which had played an important part in the struggles of James I. to subject the rebellious nobles of his kingdom to legal authority. In the unfortunate conflict which ended so tragically for James III. at Sauchieburn, the Hepburns were among the nobles who, under the banner of the kingdom, and with the pretended consent of the King's son, sought the dethronement of the King. When, at last, their cause succeeded, the Hepburns shared largely in the profits of the victory, for, in the succeeding reign, many members of this family are found holding important offices of State. William, who was vicar of Linlithgow, was promoted on the day after Sauchieburn to the offices of Clerk to the Council and Clerk Register.² In the year 1488 he witnessed a charter by James IV., in which the King conferred the lands of Largo on Captain Andrew Wood, whose services to the country and loyalty to James III. well merited the royal forgiveness and favour.

¹ Crawford's *Lives of the Chancellors*, p. 39.

² *Exchequer Rolls* (Preface to vol. x.).

Hepburn is described in this charter as "vicar of Linlithgow and Clerk of our Rolls." In 1501 he had sasine given to him of "Monreith in Wigton, with the lands thereof."¹ But, as in the case of Laing, there is no evidence of his having done anything, either in the way of restoring an old church, or building a new one, for the use of the burgesses of Linlithgow.

In the documents belonging to the reign of James IV., the reader passes from barrenness to comparative fertility. The frequency of the references to Linlithgow Church during this reign creates, and at the same time justifies, the impression that a great scheme of church-building must have been on hand. Masons, and tradesmen of various kinds, were constantly at work during this reign, some in building the palace, and others at what was termed at the time the *Kirk werk*. This kirk werk was served heir to money from many different sources. The burgesses, as has been shown, even so early as the reign of James II., were making their contracts under the proviso that failure to implement the conditions should involve a penalty to be paid to the kirk werk. Certain fines, both in the civil and ecclesiastical courts, were devoted to the kirk werk. The bailies of the burgh, for example, ordain that "na mele be sald derrar onne the wolk day than it is sald onne the markat day under the pane of twenty shillings tilbe given to St Mychell werk."² They also ordain that if any chimney within the royal

¹ *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. xi., p. 465.

² *Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

burgh "be sett furtht to kinddill without the house," it shall involve a penalty of "escheting of the said chymnay, the ane half thairof to the apprehender and schawar thairof, and the wther half thairof to St Michaelis werk."¹ By these and other means did the magistrates of Linlithgow contribute their proportion of the expense of rearing the present church, an edifice which for several centuries has been, and remains to-day, the chief glory of the burgh. Subscriptions from others than the burgesses are frequently recorded in the muniments belonging to this reign. "The Lord Chanslar" gave xxxvis. towards the kirk werk. William Balderston, viiis. The Prior of St Andrews, iii *lib.* vis. viiiid.² One name is so frequently mentioned in the King's accounts, that, namely, of Henry Forrest of Magdalenes, that it may be safely affirmed that he had more to do with the kirk werk than any other layman, with, probably, the single exception of the King himself.

None of the Scottish monarchs acted so generously towards Linlithgow Church as did James IV. His gifts to St Michael's, to her clergy, and to the two orders of friars within the burgh, were frequent and liberal. In the early years of his reign he had numerous masses said for the repose of the souls of his parents. Throughout it, masses were frequently ordered, not singly, but in "twa trentales" at a time.³ On occasions which are too numerous to record,

¹ *Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland.*

gifts of money to the priests and friars were made simply as largess. Henry Forrest was usually the medium of conveying to the masons engaged on the St Michael's work sums of money from the King *as drinksilver*. In this way James IV., though expending huge sums in turning the castle of his ancestors into the "palace of pleasure" occupied by himself and his successor, and in which the unfortunate Queen Mary was born, did not forget the St Michael's work. Accordingly, during his reign, and to some extent through his liberality, there arose from the ruins of the great church, which Edward I. had found such a commodious and convenient granary, the present church—first the nave, and afterwards the choir—the whole church apparently being finished, with the exception of the apse, before the termination of the reign. It is impossible to say how much of the previous church was incorporated in the present one. There is no trace of a fresh consecration. In 1491 James IV. gave a contribution towards the support of "the priest that keepit the quire of Linlithgow."¹ In 1497 there was an agreement made between the Prior of St Andrews and the magistrates of Linlithgow, in which the former undertook "to pay a sum of 200 merks and 5 merks annually, on condition that the Priory shall be relieved from all expense connected with the upkeep of the choir."² In 1506 there was a payment made to "the master mason of the quier of

¹ *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland.*

² *Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree*, p. xxxviii., No. 47.

Linlithgow."¹ It thus appears that by the beginning of the sixteenth century, the building of the present church was concluded, and all that remained to be provided for was simply its adequate upkeep.

The conclusion which has been arrived at, is supported by the inscription on the largest of the three bells in the tower. The placing of a bell in the tower or steeple of a church frequently indicates with fair accuracy the date at which the church was built; and "Alma Maria," as this bell is called, informs us that she was placed in her position "in the reign of the august Lord James the Fourth, in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety." There is to be found, too, in the royal accounts for the year 1496 a payment of nine shillings "to the bell in Linlithgow," which, probably, refers to some incidental expense connected with the conveyance or hanging of this bell, now one of the oldest in Scotland.²

Those writers who assert that James IV. converted St Michael's Church into a chapel royal are guilty of asserting that for which there is no proof. In the Treasurer's accounts for his reign may be found various references to "the chapell in Linlithgow," which was being supplied at that time with a new "paythment,"³ but the accounts bear ample evidence that the chapel so referred to was

¹ *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland.*

² The inscription on this bell is as follows:—Lynlithgw . villa . me . fecit . vocor . alma . maria . Domini . jacobi quarti . tempore . magnifici . Anno . milleno . quadringeno . nonageno.

³ *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland.*

within the palace. Having such a chapel, there would be no occasion, even if there were no other difficulties in the way, why the King should convert the parish church into a chapel royal. No contemporary witness affirms that he did so, and later writers, who make the assertion, refer to no authorities.

The connection of James IV. with St Michael's Church, Linlithgow, has been rendered notorious, more through a tale narrated by an ancient historian, than by all his deeds of generosity towards it. The story may be regarded as one of the attempts, several of which we have reason to believe were made, to dissuade the King from waging war, as he had resolved, with his brother-in-law, Henry VIII. Perhaps it would never have been heard of, had not "Flodden's fatal field" so terribly fulfilled the supposed prediction. The story, if it is to be told at all, should be told in the quaint words of the original chronicler: "At this tyme," says he, "the king come to Lythgow, quhair he hapnit for the tyme to be at consall, verie sad and dollarous, makand his devotiouns to god to send him good chance and fortoun on his woage. In this mean tyme thair come ane man clade in ane blew gounne in at the kirk doore witht ane roll of lynning claith ane pair of bottouns on his feit to the great of his lege witht all wther hose and claithis conforme thair to, bot he had nothing on his heid bot syde reid zallow hair behind and on his halffitis quhilk wan doune to his schoulderis bot his forheid was beld and bair. He semmit ane man of lij zeiris

witht ane great pyk staff in his hand and come fast fordward amang the lordis cryand and speirand for the king sayand he desyrit to speik with him; quhill at the last he come quhair the king was sittand in the dask at his prayeris. But quhene he saw the king he maid him lyttill reverence or sallutatioun bot leinitt doune groufflingis on the dask befor him and said to him in this maner as eftir followis: 'Schir king, my mother has send me to the desiring the nocht to pase at this tyme quhair thow art purpossit ffor gif thow dois thow wilt nocht fair weill in thy journey nor nane that passis witht the; forther scho bad the nocht mell witht no wemen nor wse witht thair counsall nor lat them nocht tuitch thy body nor thow thairs, for and thow do it, thow wilbe confoundit and brocht to schame.' Be this man had spokin thir wordis into the kingis grace, the ewin sang was neir done, and the king paussit on thir wordis studeing to gif him ane ansuer but in the meane tyme befor the kingis face, and in presentis of all his lordis that was about him for the tyme this man wanischit away and could in no wayis be sen nor comprehendit, bot wanischit away as he had bene ane blink of the sone or ane quhipe of the whirle wind and could no more be seine. I heard say Schir Dawid Lyndsay Lyoun harrott and Johnne Inglische the mairchall quho war at that tyme zoung men and spetiall serwandis to the kingis grace war standand presentlie besyde the king quho thocht to have layit handis on this man that they might haue speirit forder tydingis at him but all for nocht; they could not tueiche him ffor

he wanischit away betuix them and was no more sen."¹

Notwithstanding what has been said about the reign of James IV., it would be a great mistake to suppose that nothing was done for the church during the reign of James V. The *Kirk werk* is as frequently referred to in the documents belonging to this reign as in those belonging to the previous one. If the monarch himself did little, the bailies of Linlithgow seem to have attended with praiseworthy zeal to the interests of their church. They were in the habit of appointing "a maister of the kyrk werk" from year to year, and sometimes they gave him "ful power and licens to create ane deput undir hime as he thinkis maist expedient"; but always with the reservation that "he wil ansuer to the toune of the hale charge at his cunt mackyne."² In the year 1531-2 the master of the kirk werk was one Thomas Frensch, and there is in existence an agreement made with him by the bailies, council, and community of Linlithgow that he shall "leif hys twa sonnes to werk at the kyrk werk of Lithgow to the endyne of the gavill of the stane werk, with a cours of the battallyne round about, and the said Thomes sall cum within xiii dais eftir Witsonday to the kyrk werk of Linlithgw, and sall byd with thame ane xiii dais to the endyne of the kyrk werk."³ This agreement shows the character of the work done

¹ Pitscottie's *Chronicles of Scotland* (Scottish Text Society edition), vol. i., p. 258.

² *Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

³ *Ibid.*

during the reign of James V. It is no longer a case of building the church, but rather of keeping it in adequate repair. Following an excellent practice which is still common in many of the greater churches in England, and especially on the Continent, the magistrates seem to have retained one or two skilled masons whose business it was to maintain the fabric of the church in adequate repair.

During the reign of James V. the Church of Linlithgow had a talented vicar who did much towards its embellishment. George Crichton was in some respects an embodiment of both the best and the worst of the age in which he lived. So far as religion is concerned, we have the authority of one who could have no prejudice against him, that he "was not skilled" in it.¹ It is said that on one occasion when a reforming curate confessed that he had read and explained the New Testament to his people, Crichton, who by this time had become a bishop, rebuked him for doing so, declaring that he was thankful that he had risen to good estate in the Church without ever having seen either the Old Testament or the New. Local tradition alleges that Crichton was ordered by the Sovereign Pontiff to expend a certain sum of money on the fabric of Linlithgow Church, as a penance for an offence which he had committed against ecclesiastical order, and that the performance of that penance gave us the apse at the east end, and a "durable oak roof," with which the chancel was at one time covered, and which, with

¹ Keith's *Historical Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, edit. 1824, p. 94.



The Exterior of the Apse of St Michael's.

[Facing p. 84.]

the Bishop's coat-of-arms and initials blazoned on it, remained till the year 1812, when it was removed, to be succeeded by the present plaster one. The other side of Crichton's character is, that he "was a man nobly disposed, very hospitable, and a magnificent housekeeper."¹ The magnificence of his house-keeping furnishes an adequate explanation of the improvements which he effected on the church of his early ministry, and renders it unnecessary to believe the unfavourable report which tradition (not always to be trusted) has transmitted from age to age. That he was a man of talent may be inferred from the promotion which he received. In 1515 Crichton became Abbot of Holyrood. Seven years afterwards he was appointed Bishop of Dunkeld, where he remained till his death in 1543. He was for some years Keeper of the Privy Seal.

It is asserted by some writers that James V. erected in Linlithgow Church a throne for himself, and a stall for each of his Knights-Companions of the Thistle. Other writers ascribe this deed to James IV. Among the latter is Sir Walter Scott, who in his poem entitled "Marmion" draws a memorable picture of the King at his devotions within St Katherine's aisle, with the Knights-Companions of the Thistle around him. Sir Walter even places the banners of the knights over their respective stalls,

"Their banners o'er them beaming,"

thus making his picture much more realistic. That

¹ Keith's *Historical Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, edit. 1824, p. 94.

the story, however, is apocryphal, may be inferred from the variations which it assumes in the hands of different authors. Not merely are they not agreed as to the king who erected the throne and stalls, but they are not agreed as to whether the throne and stalls were erected or not. The earliest witness represents James V. as having "*ordered* a throne and twelve stalls to be erected in this church, for himself and the Knights of the Thistle, intending," he says, "their banners to be hung up there." "But," he adds, "his sudden death after the battle of Solway, and the commotions which followed, prevented the execution of that and many more important designs."¹ It is difficult to see how a gentleman writing in 1795 could know the intentions of James V. If, moreover, it were proven that the Order of the Thistle was not instituted till the reign of James VII. (which is the view generally held by English writers), then the story would be characterised by a fatal anachronism, which would render it unworthy of credence. As told by Sir Walter Scott, the stalls and banners form a part of a beautiful picture, and may be pardoned as a poetical licence; but others, who have professed to write history, should have rejected them as fictitious.

Such is the story of St Michael's Church from 1424 till 1524. In the beginning of this period, the fabric of Linlithgow Church was partly in ruins; but religion was believed in and liberally supported both by king and people. At the end of it, the fabric of Linlithgow Church had reached the most perfect

¹ Sinclair's *Statistical Account*, vol. xiv., p. 568.

condition to which, during its long history, it has ever attained—its nave, even on the supposition that it was built during the reign of James III., could not be more than sixty years old; its chancel and apse were new; its ceiling was of solid oak: its tower was adorned with an imperial crown, which was one of three at that time in Scotland; its niches were filled with images of saints; its aisles were crowded with chantries; and it was served by a numerous staff of priests; but, as has too often happened, *the beauty of the fabric* of the church was not synonymous with "*the beauty of holiness.*" Ecclesiastical discipline in the beginning of the sixteenth century had broken down; rich livings had tempted irreligious men to assume the priest's habit; lay patronage had turned children, who were not even in their teens, into the abbots of great monasteries; and celibacy, a fatal attempt

"To wind ourselves too high
For mortal man beneath the sky,"

had worked the disgrace of the clerical order—with the result (and in this Linlithgow Church is a miniature picture of the condition of Scotland) that by the time the fabric was complete, religion was in ruins.

CHAPTER IV

ON THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION—1524-1560

“ But where is now true discipline ?
Dare no man take on hand
To teach such false Apostate monks
Their faults to understand ? ”

Satirical Poems of the time of the Reformation.

FROM the earliest times the Church of Linlithgow was a *burghal church*. While, as a *mother church*, it had, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a large landward district attached to it, over which it exercised jurisdiction and claimed certain rights ; yet these, to some extent, were compounded for by payments made to it by the proprietors of local and private chapels, which, except on the three principal festival days, supplied the people with such religious ordinances as they desired. It was only after the Reformation that the church became really the church of the landward parish, and it was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that the minister had his full rights as a landward minister conceded to him.

As a burghal church, the magistrates of the burgh,

who in early times were all-powerful within their own jurisdiction, exercised over it a control so absolute, that it is difficult to see any occasion for either Pope or Bishop. They had the maintenance of the fabric, and, as has been stated, maintained a master of works, whose business it was to attend to the proper upkeep of it and of the other municipal buildings. They were the patrons of several of the altars, and even of those of which they were not patrons they claimed the right of controlling the clergy. This right they succeeded in maintaining by means of the jurisdiction which they exercised over all property within the burgh, and also by means of a *band* or contract, which they called upon each clergyman to subscribe, as a condition of his being inducted into a chaplaincy.¹ The chaplain who would not subscribe their band, "devisit in the maist syker mainer possible," was denied the protection of the magistrates, and would probably have had some difficulty in obtaining possession of the property of his altar, or payment of the numerous petty endowments by which he was supported. Having once, however, subscribed the band, he was much more directly under the control of the bailies of the burgh than of the Bishop of the diocese. They looked after his behaviour,²

¹ See the chapter on "Chuntries and Chantry Priests," p. 140.

² "The Sis ordains that the Bailies call their feftmen before them, and charge them to do their service at Mass, matins, and evensongs, after the form of their foundations and bands, and if that they will not obey them to do their service after the tenor of the foundations, to call them before their *Ourman* with a sharp summons."—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

appointed the hours at which he was to perform service,¹ fixed the number of lights to be placed on the altar,² and the manner in which the priest was to robe himself when performing service.³ They decided the order in which the worshippers were to be served,⁴ took care that the chaplains were not defrauded of any of the pos-

¹ "Oct. 20th, 1540.—It is consented by the Provost, Bailies, and Council of the burgh of Linlithgow, and also ordained, that there be every 'ilk hour a Mass from five hours in the morning until twelve hours at noon in Summer, and six hours in the morning till twelve hours in Winter, and this rule to be kept in honour of God and holy Kirk.'

"Imprimis, the Rude altar five hours in Summer, and six hours in Winter. And because Schir Henry Mitchell, chaplain of the said altar is an elderly man, and may not keep the said service, the said Provost, Bailies, and Community foresaid, ordains the master of works whatsoever being for the time to answer a chaplain that takes over of the said mass-saying at the hour foresaid, such as Schir Robert Thownis, chaplain, is answered of now presently, which extends in the whole to four merks eight pence, ay and until the said Rude altar vaik and come into the good town's hands.

"St Ninian's chaplain, half hour to seven in the morning. St John the Baptist altar, the chaplain of the same, at seven hours. The Lady altar chaplain, which the good burgh founded, eight hours. St Katherine's chaplain, half hour till nine hours. St Andrew's chaplain, nine hours. Corpus Christi chaplain, at half hour till ten hours. St Peter's chaplain, at ten hours."—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

² "That our Lady altars and the Rude be lighted with two *impis* each holiday at evensong, and upon double and solemn feasts the said altars and all others with *impis* and torches as use has been in time past. That all the feft lamps within the said paroch kirk be lighted conform to the founders' will, after the tenor of the old statutes and consuetude, and that the Provost and Bailies visye the same and correct faults, where any herein is found."—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

³ "That all the chaplains come to matins, High Mass, evensongs, processions, with their surplices on them, and till sit in the choir, and they that cannot sing till do other suffrage for the honesty of God's service."—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

⁴ "Nov. 24th, 1529.—The songsters of the choir shall be first served after the form of the 'ald ak,' and that no chaplain pass in procession without that they be warned of the curate."—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

sessions of their altars,¹ compelled the crafts to support their respective altars and lights according to custom,² appointed those who were to collect the St Michael's offering, and made sure that they did it.³ They fined those chaplains who violated their regulations,⁴ and dismissed those who were recal-

¹ "It is statute and ordained for the weal of the chaplainries of this said kirk and their successors, that no arable land left to any altar situated within the Parish Kirk of Linlithgow to whom they are patrons, be set to any person in feu and heritage, and that the Provost, Bailies, and Council assent not thereto, and give no seal thereupon in time coming, and howbeit they do, the same to be of none avail, force, or effect, but frustrat, cassit, and of none avail."—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

² "The same day, Michael Gibbison, Deacon of the Tailors' craft, protested that the act made by the Provost, Bailies, and assessors to Sir Henry Mitchell, chaplain of the Rude altar, anent the four shillings to find the same chaplain in wine, wax, and bread yearly to come, the said Deacon and their craft to no prejudice by use and wont."—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

"13th Oct. 1532.—Quo die, George Baird is charged by the Bailies to come on Wednesday come viii days till produce his evidents of the land that pertains to St Salvator's altar, as he will use in that matter and 'wynne and tyne,' and to show his defence by what right and title of right that he bruiks the said land. And if that he has any warrant or warrants that made him take of the said land, that Sir Thomas Johnstone claims till be his property pertaining to his altar of St Salvator, till bring with him his warrants at the said day."—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

³ "It is statute and ordained that these men underwritten and neighbours pass in the kirk when they are warned to gather St Michael's offering by the officer, under the penalty of as much to be paid out of their own purse who refuse as the said offering extended to, on the next Sunday preceding." [This minute is followed by the names of those appointed.]—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

⁴ "As soon as the third bell is rung, under the pain of a penny Scots unforgiven, till be given till the collector of the feftments. And that there be collectors made and chosen by the feft chaplains of the said kirk for to gather in the obits, and till make compt till the feftmen as the feftments purports."—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

citrant.¹ In fact, there was no part of the public and official life of the chantry priest which did not come under the vigilant eyes of "the twenty-seven gods."² Even the vicar or parish priest, although the scion of an influential family, and occasionally an important officer of State, and as such enjoying the favour of the king, did not possess an absolute immunity from the supervision of the magistrates; for, if only he were neglectful of his duties, they would summon him before them, and if he proved rebellious to their authority, take steps to enforce his band.³ As for the chantry priests, they did not

¹ "That no chaplain go till the Mass in time of High Mass, but all the chaplains shall sit in the choir with their surplices on them, and do such service as they can. And who that does the contrary, and he be warned by the Provost, Bailies, and Council and will not—those chaplains foresaid—keep the rule and statute, his benefice shall vaik, and the Provost, Bailies, and Council to provide for another sufficient kirkman thereto. And that the parish clerk keep High Mass, matins, evensong, processions daily, such as the feftmen do that are feft chaplains at the town's gift, as his band purports, with his surplice in the choir for the administration of God's service."—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

² A sobriquet in early times for the magistrates and councillors of Linlithgow.

³ "*November 8th, 1529.*—Quo die, Sir Henry Louk, procurator and factor to the vicar of Linlithgw for the time, grants him in a fensit court, in presence of the Bailies, Council, and community, that he shall honestly uphold the lights of the High altar, which that pertains the vicar to uphold; that is to say, that the said procurator shall light 'twa farseigis, with prekattis on the hedis of thaim, with twa tortais' on Saturdays at the evensong, and on Sundays at the High Mass, and at the evensong, and upon all other festual days in time to come.

"That the Sacrament lamp be daily lighted by the parish clerk or his servant, at five hours in the morning in Summer, and six hours in Winter, and that the parish clerk ring the matin bell at five hours in the Summer and six hours in Winter, and to ring the bell at five hours at even, both Summer and Winter, as consuetude is, and nightly to ring curfeu and to light the lamp till evensongs, and in Winter as the feftments purports."—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

enjoy the protection of *the Ourman*,¹ but might be dismissed by the magistrates without appeal, and apparently without even a form of process.² Such was the extent to which lay control existed in the Scottish Church before the Reformation.

It is only just, however, to give the magistrates credit for having displayed a deep interest in the church, and for having exercised a kindly, if arbitrary, control over the chantry priests. If a clergyman wished, for some personal reason, to absent himself from his duties, they were not unwilling to grant him a year's holiday;³ if he were unfit for early morning service on account of age, they would provide a substitute for him;⁴ if he were poor, they would assist him to some extent with the furnishing of his house.⁵ If a new chalice for any of the altars were required, the magistrates were always willing to contribute from the common good a proportion of the price of

¹ A vernacular word meaning bishop.

² See page 42, note 1.

³ "8th November 1529.—The Bailies and Council consent and give their full licence to John Danyelstoune, as for a year to come, to remain with the Bishop of Brechin, or any other part, where that he may do himself profit."—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

⁴ See page 40, note 1.

⁵ "24th August 1536.—The which day James Robesoun, John Ross, Bailies of the burgh of Linlithgw, delivered to Sir William Davisoun, chaplain of the Trinity altar, situated within the kirk of the said burgh, 'ane feddir bed, ane boster, ane wardour, ane pair of schetis, priced by John Canling, James Nichel, James Jamieson, and John Baxter; the price of the feddir bed with the boster, xxviii. The price of the wardour, xs. The price of the schetis, vis. Summa, xlv. The which bed, boster, wardour, and schetis he shall uphold, and shall leave to his successor of the said altar as good as they are apprisit to him.'"—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

it.¹ They seem to have supported, occasionally, a supernumerary priest, who, if underpaid for the time, had the promise of the first vacant altar.² At other times they thought this method inconvenient, and resolved not to appoint to any altar until it was vacant.³ In the exercise of their patronage, they

¹ "Anent the chalice pertaining to St Andrew's altar, the Sis delivers that Sir Andrew Fleming shall make a cup of silver, and a paten of silver of six ounces, Sir Andrew Fleming to pay the one half of the cost 'that beis made upon the said chalis,' and the town the other half, whatever it cost."—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

² "18th June 1532.—Quo die, the Bailies, Council, and whole community of the burgh of Linlithgow, with one full consent and assent, consents in plane judgement that Sir William Danisoun, chaplain, have yearly and termly six merks of the common good of Linlithgow, siklik as Sir James Cornwall had, ay and until that St John's altar be vacant, or any other altar in the kirk of Linlithgow, if that the said Sir William Danisoun, chaplain, pleases to take the said altar that vakis, other than St John's altar. The said Sir William Danisoun to make his band to the good town that he shall daily keep Mass, evensong, and processions, siklik as the laif of the brethren of the kirk do, with his surplice till be in the Quer, and when that they sing matins that he shall keep them. And ay till be ready for the doing of God's service on festival days, and other days, if that they sing Mass, matins, and evensong. And what time that the said Sir William Danisoun gets any altar that he be contented of, incontinent thereafter he shall give over the said six merks to the said town, and till be as free as when that they conditioned the said six merks to the said Sir James Cornwall. And this the said Sir William Danisoun obliges him to keep and fulfil *in verbo sacerdotii*, etc. Test., James Robeson, George Kent, and John Hamilton, Bailies ; Lion King-at-arms John de Ros."—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

³ "22nd November 1529.—Quo die, it is statut and ordainit by the Bailies, Council, and Community of Linlithgow in presence of our Com. burgess, James Hamiltoun of Finnard, Knight, James Hamiltoun of Kincavill, Sheriff of Linlithgow, in plane Court, that in time to come, that there be none alterage, nor parish clerkship nor common clerkship, that is in the gift of the Bailies, Council, and community of Linlithgow, that there be none of their foresaid service given unto the time that they vaik in the town's hands by decease of the chaplains or clerks of the said service, and that their service to be vacant in the bailies' hands, and they to dispone them by the advice of the Council and community of Linlithgow in plane court, it being fensit, and that the burgesses be warned thereto."—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

endeavoured to take the community with them, by summoning all who had any interest in the particular altar to which an appointment was about to be made to assemble at the Tolbooth.¹ Perhaps the manner in which they exercised their patronage would be all the more satisfactory to the community, that they resolved, in making appointments, to give a preference to such candidates as were natives of the burgh.²

The extracts which have been adduced from the oldest minute-book of the burgh of Linlithgow not merely prove what has been alleged regarding the control exercised by the magistrates over the church and its officials; but, being taken from a book which deals with the half-century preceding the Reformation, they show very plainly some of the causes which led to that important event. The principal cause, evidently, was the carelessness of

¹ "24th Nov. 1529.—The Bailies and their Assessors continues the donation of the altar of St Katharine until Monday that next comes, that is to say, the 29th day of November instant, and warn all parties that has any interest or donation to the gift of the said altar, to bring their rights with them the same day as they will 'wynne and tyne,' and that the officer pass out through the town, and warn all the neighbours to come to the Tolbooth the said day, under the pain of an unlaw unforgiven."—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

"Touching the giving and disposition of the altars, parish clerkship, and common clerkship of the Burgh, and all others: it is statut and ordained that the same in all time coming be given in Tolbooth by the Council, with advice of the Provost and Bailies for the time, whenever they vaik, and the votes given without the same to be of no avail."—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

² "That neighbours' bairns of the burgh foresaid, being like qualified in music to others extranes, be first admitted to alterages, and 'the maist kennand and best conditionat first.'"—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

the priests in the discharge of their sacred duties. For, however it is to be explained, it is only too evident from the entries in the above-mentioned minute-book, that all the zeal for godliness which the Roman clergy had possessed in earlier times had expired, and that her services now were in the hands of men who were too careless to light the usual lamps on the altar, to take care of the sacred vessels, or even to robe themselves in the customary vestments when performing Divine service.¹ These things, it may be presumed, were symptomatic of the presence of evils greater than themselves. The reference in the chaplain's band to his not using "continual concubine" is expressive at once of the extent to which the laity were prepared to concede certain liberties to men who were enforced celibates, and of the fear which possessed them that these freedoms might not be kept within decorous limits. Unfortunately, there is no minute-book which throws any light on the behaviour of the monks and friars in the two monasteries belonging to the burgh, nor on

¹ "It is statute and ordained that the Provost and Bailies whatsomever for the time, at the first entry to their offices, visye, see, and consider each altar that they are patrons to, 'the albis, tunklis, chalices, bukhis, and all other ornaments thereof,' and cause the same to be 'correkit, reformit, and mendit, and also renewit by the chaplains that are potent, and where they are not, by the common guid.'

"That the Provost and Bailies at their said entries also visye, see, and consider 'the albis, tunklis, copis, chalice, and bukhis, and all other ornaments of the Hie alter, and thaire Queir, and cause the same to be observit and keptit by the parish clerk, that nane be spoilit, nor want in thair default, and that tha be tekkatit yearly in the common bukis, and that the said paroch clerk do his service at tymes us and wont."—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

the conduct of the sisters in the convent of Manuel ; but, judging from the treatment which the Regulars received at the hands of the populace when the storm burst, it may reasonably be assumed that, as they were in worse odour, so their conduct must have been more shameless than that of the secular clergy. Moreover, as they were not under the control of the magistrates of Linlithgow, nor even of the Bishop of the diocese, they may have presumed on the distance between them and their *Ourman* (the Sovereign Pontiff) to sin with a greater measure of impunity. But their conduct was not unobserved, nor did it fail in due time to produce its natural consequences. In place of money flowing into the coffers of the Church, as hitherto, there is a manifest reluctance to pay even what is legally due.¹ Instead of being treated with the respect due to the representatives of religion, the clergy are become butts for the wits of the age. And this wit is indulged in by men who are sons of the Church, and who very likely did not foresee, and did not desire, such a Reformation as afterwards swept over Scotland. For, even if we give no credit to the testimony of John Knox, there is still that of Sir David Lindsay—certainly more piquant, and much more

¹ “27th June 1533.—The which day the said Robert Culze, Dik Nemocht and John Jak, Fleshers of the burgh foresaid, for them and in name of the laif of their craft, solemnly protested in judgment that neither Bailies, Council, nor community of the said burgh, shall not compel them by no way of deed, nor sart, to uphold nor pay to altar nor light within the kirk of Linlithgow, but their own benevolence and will, because of the deforcing of them of the penny in the Act preceding.”—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

damnatory, than anything which the Reformer ever wrote—to explain away. There is also the fact that the Church herself attempted to secure a Reformation. Corrupt as she had become, there were still, it is charitable to suppose, many good and pious souls within her walls who longed for the old ways, and who would gladly have sacrificed anything, except their principles, to secure a return to them. But they were too few to save the tottering Church.

In 1552 a provincial council of the clergy was held in Linlithgow, with the view of securing some measure of reform which might stem the rising tide. The clergy, however, failed to comprehend the gravity of the situation. In place of taking active measures against the immorality and the open indecency of many belonging to their own order, they resorted to their ancient device of cursing heresy, altogether forgetful that immorality is the worst heresy. The efforts which the magistrates of the burgh made to accomplish the same laudable end will be more interesting to the local reader. These efforts began as early as the year 1541, when a resolution was adopted to the effect that the services of the Church ought to be more decorously conducted. In the following year, when matters apparently had become more alarming, they carried their efforts a step further, and to a considerable extent in the right direction, by resolving to reform their own conduct towards the Church, and to offer special prayers to God Almighty and His mother, the blessed Virgin, in behalf of the

burgh.¹ In the year 1543 there was again an attempt on the part of the magistrates at reforming the church, for during that year they held a conference with the chaplains, to ascertain "if there be any faults to God's service," and who has the blame thereof, and to take steps to have the same reformed, to "the honour of God, our lady, and good saints."² These efforts, however, did not blind the eyes of the magistrates to the possibilities of the future; for, while trying to save the Old Church, they evidently had a grave suspicion that they might not succeed, and thought it advisable

¹ "19th December 1541.—The Provost, Bailies, and Council of this burgh of Linlithgow, for the laud and honour of God Omnipotent and the holy archangel St Michael, patron of the said burgh, and decor of the High altar situated within the parish kirk of the same, think expedient that there be lighted 'twa prekattis' each holy day upon the said altar in time of the High Mass and evensong, which shall burn from the beginning of the Mass until the complete end thereof, and in likewise at the evensong, and that there be 'twa torches' lighted at the elevation of the Sacrament of the High Mass and Magnificat of the evensong at the least."

"October 3rd, 1542.—The said day it is statut and ordained by the Provost, Bailies, and Council of the burgh of Linlithgow, for the welfare of this burgh, that they and all other honest persons thereof, observe, and keep all songs, evensongs, and Mass in the kirk, saying their devotions to God Almighty, and His Mother, the Blessed Virgin Mary, beseeching them for the commonweal of the burgh, which by their grace might increase."—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

² "April 3rd, 1543.—The which day the Sise ordains the Provost, Bailies, with their well-advised Council, to pass on Wednesday, the 5th day of April instant, to the kirk of Linlithgow, and require the chaplains to concur with them of the same, and there to commune and see if there be any faults to God's service, which should be done in the said kirk daily, and who has the weight thereof, or wherein the fail and fault is, and that the Provost, Bailies, and their well-advised Council with the advice of the brethren and chaplains of the said kirk to cause all faults to be reformed to the honour of God, our lady, and good saints."—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

meanwhile to take steps to secure the endowments of the altars.¹

It may be taken for granted that the cause of the Reformation was not without numerous advocates within the royal burgh of Linlithgow. Already the parish had given two martyrs to that cause, and as these were both persons of good family, whose ancestors had taken a deep interest in St Michael's Church, and in the welfare of religion within the district attached to it, it may be presumed that the views for which they sacrificed their lives would be canvassed by all, and espoused by many. Patrick Hamilton, the first martyr of the Scottish Reformation, was a descendant of the Hamiltons of Kincavill, one of whom held in the reign of James IV. the important office of Sheriff of Linlithgow. The Hamilton family forfeited the Kincavill estate on account of their attachment to the cause of the Reformation.² Henry Forrest, the second martyr of the Scottish Reformation, was also a native of Linlithgow, his ancestors having possessed the estate of Magdalenes for several generations. One of his ancestors, probably his grandfather, had taken a deep interest in the building of the choir of St Michael's Church, and was frequently the medium, as has been stated in a previous chapter, of conveying

¹ "That no infeftment nor mortification of the Town's altars remain in the chaplains' hands, but be in keeping in the common charter-chest of the town, and that the chaplains have the authentic copy thereof, upon their expense, an it be desired."—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

² *Register of the Great Seal*, vol. ii., No. 1526.

the king's bounty to the masons who were employed on that work. A Forrest of Magdalenes was the means of securing for the ancient burgh of Linlithgow the honour of having a provost, and was himself honoured by the burgesses in being elected the first provost.

But all the zeal for religion, and the ability to defend one's views of religion, or if necessary to suffer for them, were not on the side of the Reformers. There was, at least, one man among the burgesses of Linlithgow who proved himself a respectable champion of the cause of the ancient church. This was Ninian Winzet, the rector of the Grammar School. Though very far from justifying the corruption which had crept into the Church, and most willing and anxious to have the same remedied, Winzet did not see his way to reform the Church after the drastic manner proposed by John Knox and the Lords of the Congregation. He desired, on the contrary, to reform the conduct of the clergy, and to leave the ancient faith intact, and he did not hesitate to defend his position both by correspondence and public discussion. He is said to have debated with John Knox and others on the controverted tenets, and according to Bishop Leslie, "the apes and messinis of Calvin were thoroughly routed."¹ Whether there was ever such a discussion is not quite clear; but it is due to Winzet to admit, what appears evident from his writings, that both as a man and a controversialist he was a creditable representative of the

¹ Leslie's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 464.

Roman position. He, too, at a later period might have been a martyr if he had not fled to Germany, where, by being made Abbot of Ratisbon, he received that acknowledgment from the Roman Church which his services and fidelity to her interests had so well earned.¹

At length, in the beginning of the year 1559, the storm of the Reformation burst in full violence; for then began the destruction of the monasteries, and the so-called "cleansing" of the churches. The former, there is reason to believe, was not so much the work of the Reformers as of the populace. Calderwood informs us that at Stirling the people had demolished the Greyfriars' Monastery, before *the Lords of the Congregation* arrived in the town, and he hints that the same was the case at Linlithgow.² Certainly it does not appear that either the Carmelite Friary or the Augustinian Monastery was destroyed by the Lords of the Congregation. Nor is there any evidence that they destroyed the Nunnery of Manuel. Amidst the storm which prevailed, it is probable that the occupants of these institutions, having leased their property to lay relatives,³ fled, and left their houses to perish at the hands of an indignant people. On the 29th of June 1559, the Lords of the Congregation devoted their energies to cleansing St Michael's Church. They emptied all the niches, broke the holy-

¹ Hewison's *Life of Winzet*, in the edition of Winzet's works published by the Scottish Text Society.

² Calderwood's *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 474.

³ The Laing *Charters*, p. 128.

water "stoup," destroyed the altars, and, in short, kicked out of it everything which they deemed popish. For long afterwards, it is said, legs and heads of saints and panels of altars were occasionally dug up in the neighbourhood of the church.¹ One of these fragments, probably a panel of the great altar, dug up nearly half a century ago, and several fragments discovered during the recent restoration, have found a permanent home in the wall of the new vestry. The image of St Michael was the only one that escaped the fury of these determined *cleansers*; and this was not because he was the tutelary saint of the burgh, nor because he had a position on the top of the steeple—an error into which Chalmers has led many later writers²—but because he was an integral portion of the building, and could not be removed without making a hole in it. He bears, however, many traces of having received the treatment given to the first Christian martyr.

Although the Reformation settled the theological problem in dispute to the satisfaction of the Scottish people, yet it gave birth to new subjects of controversy, which were to occupy them for some generations. Among these, the first in time, if not in importance, was the question as to the disposal of the property of the ancient Church.

This financial aspect of the question was not long in presenting itself for consideration to the magis-

¹ Waldie's *History of Linlithgow*, p. 66.

² Chalmers's *Caledonia*, of which Penny's *Linlithgowshire* is a verbatim copy, vol. ii., p. 876.

trates of Linlithgow. They seem to have had some special interest in the altar dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and they were determined that its endowments should not be alienated from the burgh.¹ Accordingly, they fell upon the ingenious device of inducting to it a *tulchan chaplain*, who undertook, immediately on obtaining possession, to make over the endowments to them.² Mr Patrick Kinloquhy, who had by this time (January 21st, 1563) become the first Protestant minister of Linlithgow, was willing

¹ "21st January 1563.—The Council concludes that the Trinity altar be disposed to some qualified person for conservation of the donation, and the patrimony thereof be assigned from him to the Commonwealth. William Knowles protested," etc.—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

² "The which day it is concluded by the Council that the Trinity altar be disposed in manner following, for conservation of the privilege of their donation, to Patrick Kinloquhy, minister; that he accepting the same shall incontinent thereafter demit and assign to the community of Linlithgow the property and patrimony thereof, and for payment of the same shall make sufficient mandate and procuratory to them and to the Treasurer of the town in calling and pursuing thereof, and also shall bind and oblige him to demit and resign the title thereof in favour of the community, patrons thereof, how soon he be required thereto, to be used by them, undoubted patrons, as they shall think expedient.

"The which day the said Patrick Kinloquhy, minister, accepted the gift of the Trinity altar, within the kirk of Linlithgow, and the Council doted the said Patrick therewith, and instituted him therein by deliverance of a book in his hand, and thereupon the Treasurer, Alexander Ka, took instruments.

"The which day Patrick Kinloquhy demitted to the community of the burgh of Linlithgow and their common weal, the annual rents, maills, profits, dewties, and emoluments thereof, to remain with them, and uptane by the Treasurer, to be applied to the common affairs during his time, reserving to him alanerlie the title, which title the said Patrick binds and obliges him to demit, resign, and ourgive to the Council and community, how soon they find expedient to employ the same to some good affair, and also shall make procurators the Provost, Bailies, and Treasurer of the Burgh, to pursue for the profits thereof."—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

to act as *tulchan* for the occasion ; so the magistrates presented him to the chaplaincy of the Trinity altar, and he in turn presented them with its emoluments. A better day, however, was awaiting the magistrates, when, through the generosity of James VI., they were to obtain possession, not only of the endowments of the Trinity altar, but of all the altars, by whomsoever founded, within St Michael's Church.



CHAPTER V

AFTER THE STORM—1560-1646

“Nayne sal put thair hap in the virgine Maria, or trow that schw can saiff ony man for prayer or service dwne to hir ; thairfor ewerie man sal put thair hap alanerlie in Jesu Christ, for thair is na oder salwiour bot he alene.”—GAU.

THE Records of the burgh of Linlithgow break off at the Reformation, and are not resumed till the year 1620. This unfortunate *lacuna* makes it impossible to supply almost any reliable information regarding the fabric of St Michael's Church during a most interesting period. And this is to be regretted all the more that the period is one respecting which the ordinary sources of information render little assistance.

In the report of an official visitation of the parish, held in the year 1611, it is stated that “the fabric of the kirk is at gude point, and the kirk-yaird deykis weill intertenit,”¹ which shows that the magistrates of Linlithgow must have continued to discharge their

¹ *Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife*, published by the Abbotsford Club, p. 23.

accustomed duties towards the church after the Reformation, as before it. The same conclusion may be inferred from this, that the very first minute on the resumption of the Records contains a resolution "to big up the cross dyke betwixt the minister's manse and the kirk-yaird with stane and lime."¹

It is not at all likely that there were any galleries in the church before the Reformation. But, as mention is made of such when the Records of the burgh are resumed, it may be concluded that, shortly after the Reformation, steps were taken to adapt the church to the necessities of the new mode of worship. This was done by fitting up the chancel with galleries. The pulpit was placed at the north side, and a gallery occupied the south aisle. The front seats of this gallery were allocated to the king, to the magistrates, and, probably, to the guildry. The method of providing seats for the church on this occasion was, apparently, the very primitive one of permitting all those who wished to do so to build a loft, or a pew, for themselves. That this method was not conducive either to uniformity or beauty, may be learned from the conduct of one of the crafts, whose efforts at seat-building quite shocked the feelings of the magistrates. The Incorporation of Tailors, feeling, evidently, that the *sartoric art* entitled them to a higher position in the church than the other worshippers, had built their pew so high that the magistrates were led to condemn their conduct as "a great wrong." A

¹ *Records of the Burgh of Linlithgow.*

few years afterwards, however, when they proceeded to place the symbols of their craft—a pair of shears and a smoothing-iron—on the front of their pew, they subjected the good nature of the magistrates to too severe a test, and brought down on themselves the indignation of that powerful body. Their conduct, the magistrates declare, is aggravated by the fact that the tailors' pew is opposite to His Majesty's throne.¹

Though the worshippers who occupied this first Protestant church had all been reared in the Roman faith, they seem to have abandoned with wonderful alacrity any scruples which they ever possessed as to the sanctity of ecclesiastical buildings. The church, according to them, was only the portion of it used for preaching; the remainder of it might be devoted to any purpose for which it was suitable, without in the least degree shocking their sense of propriety. As a matter of fact, it was occasionally put to very strange uses. For example, in the year 1620, when the Tolbooth was greatly in need of repair, John Duncan, who was probably treasurer of the burgh at that time, happened to be at Leith, and seizing the opportunity of making a good bargain, he bought "forty great trees and twa hundred deals,"

¹ "The whilk day (7th December 1621), the hail Council, with ane dissent, has found that John Mitchell, Deacon of the Tailors, has done great wrang in heichting their seat within the kirk."

"3rd April 1627.—Considering the great wrang done be George Bartram, in causing put up the Tailors' scheris and their pressing-iron upon the foreface of their seat in kirk, fornent His Majesty's throne, which is great scornit of the kirk, being biggit in the Queir; ordains him therefore, to cause put them away with expedition, betwixt and the morn at twelve hours, and to compear ad viii to hear him declarit to be punished therefor."—*Burgh Records*.

which purchase he reported to the town council at their next meeting, manifestly with feelings of considerable self-satisfaction. The magistrates heartily concurred in Duncan's action, and ordered him to bring the trees and deals to Linlithgow, and store them in the church, till such time as the restoration of the Tolbooth could be undertaken.¹

To the credit of the magistrates it ought to be mentioned here that they not merely continued to discharge their customary duties towards the fabric of the church after the Reformation, as before it, but they were careful to secure that all others who had duties to the church did the same. They insisted, for example, on the members of the various crafts, who before the Reformation had been responsible for the support, or partial support, of certain altars and lights, maintaining each a window or windows in glass and necessary repairs. When in the interests of economy the Fraternity of Smiths built up their window, the magistrates insisted on their removing the stones and filling it with glass.² This arrangement, by which the crafts supported the windows

¹ "3d Nov. 1620.—The which day John Duncan declarit that he had coft fourtie great trees and twa hundred daills in Leith for helping of the Tolbuithe and reparation thereof. Ordains the said John to bring the same hame to the Kirk to ly thair untill order be tane therewith anent the reparation of the said Tolbuithe."—*Burgh Records*.

² "9th July 1622.—In respect of the wrang done be the Deacon and craft of the Smiths' Craft . . . ordains the said deacon and craft to repair thair lichtis of thair altar on the north side of the back kirk door, and to take down the stanes thereof, and to set the same up with glass betwixt and the first day of September next to come, under the pain of xxℓ., and to uphald thair other window and repair the same, whereunto the deacon of the Smiths and brethren presently agree."

of the church, continued till 1832.¹ The magistrates also prevented the deacons of the crafts from exacting seat rents from the members of their fraternity.² From payments made by the Council "for theiking the kirk," "for slating the kirk," "for pointing and dressing the kirk," and "for repairing the allarins," it is clear that they must have taken on themselves the entire management, and probably the entire expense of ordinary repairs, during the greater part of the first century after the Reformation; which expense, if it did not amount to much, was at least sufficient to prevent the building from becoming ruinous. The "gentlemen of the out-parish," as the landward heritors are usually styled, are appealed to for assistance on special occasions at this period; but the arrangement by which they and the magistrates support the church, in the proportions of one-third and two-thirds respectively, belongs to a later date. In 1628 the magistrates dismissed their slater because his insufficient theiking of the kirk and allarins "had the appearance of rotting the haill timber." Thomas Mastertoun had ten merks annually for glazing the windows belonging to the magistrates, but, "having done wrang to James Glen, bailie, in not acknowledg-

¹ The Incorporations continued in possession of their privileges until the above year, with, it may be presumed, their burdens. The latest payment, however, towards the windows of the church is of date 8th February 1808.

² "17th August 1627.—Considering the great iniquity the Crafts of this burgh does in exacting fra the brethren of the craft, burgesses' sons, at their entry, in willing them to pay ferme for their liberty to sit in their seat, express against all guid order, Therefore discharges that no craft exact anything fra their brethren—burgesses' sons—for their sitting in their seat, in all time coming."—*Burgh Records*.

ing him on the market cross, and not giving him reverence," the agreement was quashed, and the said Thomas dismissed.¹

For one decision, which still stands recorded in the minute-books of the Town Council, the magistrates are entitled to the gratitude of the community. On the 2nd of July 1643, "the Council all in ane voice adheres and agrees that the Town uphold the Quere of the Kirk according as they are obliged." It has been mentioned in a previous chapter that, before the Reformation, they had entered into an agreement with the Prior of St Andrews to support the choir; and although the altered circumstances might have supplied them with a pretext for, and an opportunity of, shirking this duty, they refused to take advantage of them. But for this refusal on their part, it is probable that to-day there should have been only a portion of the fabric, as at Haddington and Paisley, instead of a complete church; and, therefore, it may be gratefully acknowledged, the decision is one which reflects credit on the wisdom and generosity of the magistrates of the burgh at that period.²

Their decision to support the choir of the church is probably significant of the fact that they were seriously contemplating removing from it to the nave. At least, from other minutes in the Council books of this period, it appears that a movement was inaugurated to fit up the nave as the parish church. On the

¹ *Burgh Records.*

² "The which day the Council all in ane voice adheres and agrees that the Town uphold the Quere of the Kirk according as they are obliged."—*Burgh Records.*

1st of December 1643, the Council enter into an agreement with one Robert Young, wright, "for altering of the pulpit of the Kirk and making one of tymer." They also appoint a committee, charged with "attending and visiting the cutting of the tymer allotted for that use, and for seeing the same applied holilie for that same effect." In 1644 they ordain that "as much money be taken out of the kist of the Council-house as will be twa tassies for the communion." On June 17th of the same year they appoint "that fourscore trees be selectit and brought fra Borrowstounness by the toun and out-parish¹ for the help of the Kirk." The next year Thomas Teddoch, of St Johnstoun [Perth], is communicated with "anent the slates bought for the kirk." In January 1645, the provost "declared how the pews were designate within the kirk, and the names of those who are nominate to have pews"; but, continues the minute, "in respect that there are some not contentit with the said division, therefore they have elected My Lord Linlithgow, the Provost, James Glen, Andrew Miln, and Robert Bell, to meet and consider the foresaid division, and to strive to give all contentment." Meanwhile, these efforts at fitting up the nave as the parish church, which probably had got the length only of drawings and a proposed re-allocation of pews, were prevented from being carried

¹ This is one of the earliest references to the landward parish. It is evident that the church business is still being attended to by the Council, but that the landward heritors, as sharing the benefits of the church since the Reformation, are expected to assist. The proportion to be borne by each has not yet been definitely fixed.

out by two causes: the first, an order from the estates that "the haill sensible men weill provided, and twenty-four days' provisions, go to Stirling with all possible diligence, for preserving the same from the enemy approaching to it"; and the other an application from the Council of Edinburgh and the Provostry thereof, desiring the Town Council of Linlithgow "to supply their college, regents, and scollaris, with accommodation in this time until the judgment be removed." The Council minute that "they are weill pleasit to assist them in so far as they are able, and has condescended to give them fyne schoolis in the kirk, dividit and made ready by themselves." And so the University of Edinburgh, fleeing from the plague which decimated the metropolis in 1645-46, took refuge in Linlithgow Church; and, as appears from another minute, the Committee of Estates, following their example, took refuge in Linlithgow Palace.¹ The professors, fortunately, did not require to remain in Linlithgow very long, and in departing they expressed their "gratitude to the Council for their great favour and courtesy,"

¹ "The quhillk day the Council, upon the coming of the Committee of Estates to sitt within this burgh, fearing that sundrie of the Inhabitants, taking advantage of the throng that will be by thame, will extort the leadges resorting hereto for thair chambers and beds; therefore they have sett doune thir prices following, ordaining the same to be observit by the haill Inhabitants, and no contravenit; viz., the price of the noble-men chamber, cole, and candle, with two bedis, for twenty-four hours, 20 shillings; and of gentlemen and Commissioners of burghs, that space, 13 shillings and 4 pence; and the price of the rest of the lodgers resorting to the said burgh, for cole, candle, and bed, 24 hours, six shillings and eight pence, and the grooms and footmen are to pay for thair bed 3 shillings."—*Burgh Records*.

and presented to them "the hail deallis brought into the kirk in making up of the schoolis for the university, to be employed by them to such purpose as they shall think most convenient, and which the Council thankfully received."¹

This chapter may be concluded by recording a few details of a subordinate character, regarding the period which it embraces:—

1. The Town Council, to which frequent reference has been made in the course of this chapter, not only kept the church in repair, paid the reader, and collected money with which to support a *second minister*; but they took steps to secure that all the burgesses attended divine service regularly. And, as example is better than precept, they ordained by statute that "all the Councillors and Deacon Councillors should keep their own place with the Magistrates, every Sabbath and preaching day."²

2. The Church of Scotland during this period was much more a *lay church* than it is at present. The Reformers attached more importance to education than to ordination. The latter, in fact, was laid aside for some time as an empty ceremony.³ They admitted laymen to the management of the church to an extent that would not be thought advisable at present. In the first General Assembly the Provost of Linlithgow and two bailies took their seats as *a matter of course*;⁴ and till far on in the

¹ *Burgh Records.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *First Book of Discipline.*

⁴ Charles Drummond, Provost, James Wotherspoone, and Andrew Milne, for Linlithgow. *Vide Peterkin's Book of the Universal Kirk of Scotland*, p. 1.

seventeenth century, the Provost and magistrates of Linlithgow were as regularly members of the Kirk-session as if they had been so *ex officiis*.¹ The Session then consisted of forty-seven lay elders, a band which, including every important burghess in the burgh, and every considerable proprietor of land in the parish, naturally exercised a great influence.²

3. An interesting minute gives us an idea of the character of the services conducted in the churches of Scotland during this period. The Reformers seem to have adhered to the hours of worship to which the ancient church had accustomed the people. In the morning of each Sunday there were prayers at 8 o'clock, at which the reader officiated ; at 9.30 there was a diet of preaching, and at 5 in the afternoon there was again a diet of prayer. These hours, very probably, corresponded to those at which matins, mass, and evensong had been performed before the Reformation.³ It is well known that the Church of Scotland at this period used a liturgy, and it is refreshing to find that the people still regarded "common prayer," even if there was no preaching, as sufficiently important to justify their attendance. Prayer and praise had not yet degenerated into *preliminaries*.

4. For these services the ancient arrangement of bell-ringing was also maintained. For morning prayer there were three bells, at 7, 7.30, and 8 o'clock.

¹ *Session Records of Linlithgow.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Burgh Records.*

For the preaching there were again three bells, at 8.30, 9, and 9.30. The bell-ringer was specially ordained to ring "as lang as ane may gang betwixt the West Port and the Kirk."¹

5. During the period embraced in this chapter, the Church of Linlithgow was served by three ministers—Mr Patrick Kinloquhy, Mr Robert Cornwall, M.A., and Mr John Cornwall.² There was also, during the last of these ministries, a second minister, whom the Council, with the assistance of "the gentlemen of the out-parish," supported by voluntary contributions. As a rule, the second minister obtained the first charge on the occasion of a vacancy ; but if he were appointed without the consent of the magistrates—as was the case with a second minister appointed during the incumbency of Mr John Cornwall—or if he offended them in any way during his occupancy of the second charge, neither the first minister nor the Presbytery was sufficiently influential to induce them to continue their payments. The voluntary nature of the arrangement enabled them at a later date to disclaim liability, and to bring the second charge to an end.³

6. The reader's stipend was paid from the endowments of certain altars. His duties were to read the prayers and lessons, and to raise the tunes. He had also charge of the "sang schule," where he taught the youth of the parish how to use their voices

¹ *Burgh Records*. ² Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, part i., p. 159.

³ See, for fuller particulars, the chapter on the Second Charge.



Ancient Seal of the Presbytery of Linlithgow.



in the praise of God. The song school stood in close proximity to the palace, and was still in existence, and received its last restoration, *for the sake of decency*, when in 1633 King Charles I. visited his ancestral home.¹

¹ For fuller particulars with regard to the "Sang Schule," see Appendix I., p. 331.



CHAPTER VI

RESOLUTIONERS AND PROTESTERS—1646-1669

“He could raise scruples dark and nice,
And after solve 'em in a trice.”

BUTLER.

IN the year 1647 the condition of Linlithgow Church was probably more ruinous than it had ever been since it was built. The magistrates were alive to the urgent necessity of having it restored ; but the times were not favourable to restoration, and they saw little prospect of their being able to raise the necessary funds. Among other methods which they suggested of meeting “the great chairges they were brought to by upholding the Kirk,” was that of “collecting for the reparation of it every Sabbath day.” This method, they declare, is followed in Edinburgh and other burghs, and they see no reason why it should not be adopted in Linlithgow. They are willing, they declare, to act as collectors themselves ; but the proposal, probably on the ground that it would interfere with moneys belonging to the poor, does not seem to have been adopted.

Nothing more is heard of the restoration of the church till the days of the Commonwealth. In the year 1650 the Town Council declare their willingness

“to concur and assist in so far as they are obliged, and are able, for the accommodation of the kirk for hearing of the Word of God.” Again, in a minute of the 13th December 1651, “it is unanimously concluded that our Kirk be helped in so many windows as are most necessary to be done for the present, to the effect our ministers may have convenience to preach therein, and the congregation to hear.” “The Kirk-session,” this minute further informs us, “had promised to pay the half of the charge thereof.” At another meeting, held in May 1652, the Town Council “recommends the Provost and Bailies to speak with the gentlemen of the parish anent reparation of the Kirk, and what they will advance for doing thereof, in their proportion, in time, before it go to ruin.” A month later there is an inspection by the magistrates and some of the gentlemen of the out-parish “of the roof of the Kirk, in the haill defects thereof, and as to the manner how the same shall be repaired.” Again, under date 4th September 1652, we have the following minute: “The Council considering that the Kirk in the haill fabric thereof, and especially in the roof, is likely to decay, and will decay by all appearance shortly, if it be not timeously remedied; and also considering the best way and manner how to proceed therein, and in obtaining money for providing lime and sand required thereto, and craftsmen, sclaters, and others for the work, they think it most expedient that a voluntary collection be made both through burgh and landward of their free offering to so good and necessary a work; and for the better enacting of the same, they have

nominated and appointed the Provost and Bailies, Dean of Guild, and George Bell, elder, and the Treasurer, to speak with the gentlemen of the out-parish, and desire them to contribute, and to cause their tenants to contribute freely, according as the Lord has prospered them, and shall steir up their minds freely to contribute thereto, and to convene and agree with all craftsmen and workmen requisite thereto, and to provide lime and slates and all materials requisite and necessary for the same. And also desiring them to acquaint our ministers thereof, to the effect that they may steir up the congregation to contribute according to their ability to so charitable and useful a work." A subsequent minute shows that the "gentlemen of the out-parish" did not collect their proportion, and that even many residents of the burgh did not subscribe, and that as the collectors were "exhausted" it was necessary to appoint a committee to look after the parish, the Provost undertaking to deal personally with the defaulters within the burgh.

This effort to restore the church was rendered fruitless by an unfortunate schism which took place in the congregation (and to some extent throughout the whole Church of Scotland), and which was to occupy the attention of both the magistrates and people of Linlithgow for a considerable time. The Parliament, sadly handicapped by the *Act of Classes*,¹ had submitted its

¹ An Act passed in January 1649, by which all persons who had shown themselves hostile to the Covenant, taken any part in the Engagement, or contracted any other like deadly sin, were excluded from all places of honour and trust.

grievance to the Commission of the Church, and had obtained from it the acknowledgment that a man, in certain circumstances, might be allowed to serve his country even though he had not signed "The Solemn League and Covenant." This, no doubt, was a lowering of the Covenanters' banner; for, in the heyday of their power, they had ordered the Town Council of Linlithgow to make a new election, so that all those who were unworthy might be excluded from the Council. On the other hand, one cannot help sympathising with the Parliament. It was surely hard that a man could not be allowed to draw a sword in defence of his country, when it was endangered on all sides, unless he were prepared to sign the Covenant. The Commission, of course, had to report to the next Assembly the liberty which they had conceded to the Parliament, and from that moment the Church of Scotland was rent in twain. Certain members of the Assembly protested against this *policy of expediency*, and they were supported by the more rigid Covenanters throughout the country. In Linlithgow the Protesters seem to have been the majority. Even the magistrates, although strong Resolutioners, did not find their Council Board free from those who sympathised with the Protesters. Their clerk, when asked to "convenience the Council" by formally protesting, in their name, against the settlement of a minister whom the "pretended Session" had called, and who was about to be ordained by the "East Presbytery," "humbly craved their pardon not to press him thereto, refusing to do the same, as being

contrary to his hope and knowledge, not being there to protest against any minister"; but he offered "to cause ane notur to go along with them therein and to be notur thereto." But the magistrates had little sympathy with such scruples. They proceeded at their next meeting, held a week afterwards, to relieve the good man of his clerkship; and it was only on his promising "not to fall into the like offence for the future," and "fully submitting himself for his offence to the pleasure and determination of the Council," that they "of their goodness, and in hope of his better behaviour for the future," condescended to forgive him.

The reference of the magistrates to a "pretended Session" and an "East Presbytery" shows that the schism rent asunder alike the congregation, the Session, and the Presbytery of Linlithgow. The "pretended Session," notwithstanding the opposition of the magistrates, had rather the best of it; as, patronage having been abolished in 1649, the people, the majority of whom were on the side of the Protesters, exercised their right of calling a minister whenever a vacancy occurred, and without the least consideration for the wishes of the Resolutioners. The "pretended Session," for example, "after seeking of God the most part of the day for direction," called the Reverend Alexander Guthrie, and the "East Presbytery" resolved to ordain him to the charge, much to the disgust of the magistrates whose desire was to call back their two former ministers—the Rev. David Drummond and

the Rev. Thomas Inglis—both of whom had been deposed, a few years previously, for not preaching against “The Engagement.”¹ As the “East Presbytery” proceeded with Mr Guthrie’s settlement without paying the least deference to the wishes of the magistrates, they naturally provoked their displeasure, and received practical evidence of it in a way that, fortunately, is not common on such occasions. The magistrates, irritated at the idea of having “an Edinburgh tailor’s son” ordained “to preach the gospel to them,” took steps to debar the Presbytery from entering the burgh; and when the Presbytery met at Magdalenes, and proceeded to ordain the minister there, the magistrates “fell upon them, wounded some of them, and drave them by violence from the place.”² The Presbytery afterwards met near Pardovan, the residence of Walter Stewart, and admitted Mr Guthrie. The Synod, where the Resolutioners were in the majority, reversed the action of the “East Presbytery,” and declared Mr Guthrie “unlawfully called.” Mr Guthrie, as might be expected in such circumstances, had a very troubled ministry in Linlithgow, but it

¹ “At Carisbrook Castle in 1647, Charles I., then a prisoner, promised to give Parliamentary sanction to the Solemn League and Covenant, provided that none should be compelled to take it against their will; and to establish Presbytery in England for three years, provided that he and his household were allowed their own mode of worship; and after these three years, to establish permanently such a Polity as the Westminster Divines, with twenty commissioners of his nomination, should determine as most agreeable to the Word of God. These conditions were afterwards embodied in a treaty with the Scotch Estates, known as ‘The Engagement.’”—Cunningham’s *History of the Church of Scotland*.

² *Presbytery Records*. Scott’s *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, part i., p. 160.

did not last long, as he had scarcely finished his second year when he died, at the early age of twenty-seven years. Baillie declares him to have been "a silly man, forced on the ministry of Linlithgow contrarie to all the Synod could doe"¹; but as it was an age when partisan feeling was high, all such estimates, either on the one side or the other, ought to be received with a little more than the proverbial *grain of salt*.

Again, the second charge being vacant, the "pretended Session" gave a call to the Rev. William Weir, and the "East Presbytery," notwithstanding the opposition of the Town Council, succeeded (6th October 1653) in having him settled. The Synod, as in the previous case, quashed the settlement, this time on the ground that Mr Weir had not been "lawfully called and tried." No minister of Linlithgow has ever had a more extraordinary career than had Mr Weir. Called by the Protesters, and settled in the second charge in the year 1653, he had his settlement cancelled in 1654. The following year, on the death of Mr Guthrie, the protesting party translated him to the first charge; and in 1661 he was again removed by the Synod. On his removal, the magistrates demanded that he should deliver up the *registers* of the church; and as he refused, Provost Glen committed him to prison till such time as he would comply. On being liberated from the "thieves' hole" of Linlithgow, he made his way to Ireland, where, as minister of Coleraine, he was labouring

¹ Baillie's *Letters and Journals*, vol. iii., quoted in Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*.

in 1688, when, the strife between Resolutioners and Protesters being over, he was again called to Linlithgow, as a means of uniting the sadly-divided congregation. Here he laboured for the last eight years of his life, and left behind him the reputation of being a good man and a faithful minister.

The magistrates were, and had been since the days of the "Engagement," in search of "ane able, qualified, and powerful minister," but though they had spent large sums of money in attending the Synod with the view of promoting an appointment, and in consulting with various parties as to suitable persons, they had never succeeded in finding one to their minds. They were in that respect less successful than the Protesters, who found two, and, notwithstanding the opposition of the magistrates, succeeded in having them settled. At length, however, in the year 1655, the magistrates found one—the Rev. James Ramsay of Kirkintilloch—but, as bad-luck would have it, when they had found a minister, *they had lost their church.*

The loss of the church was due to the arrival in Linlithgow of Oliver Cromwell. The Lord Protector took possession of the palace, as Edward I. had done three and a half centuries before, and fortified it in very much the same way, using for the purpose the "stones of the town hall, the hospital, and all the houses in the church-gaith." The Town Council, meanwhile, in place of looking for "ane able, qualified, and powerful preacher," thought it advis-

able to put the neighbouring arm of the sea between them and the conqueror, and so went to reside at Culross, where, they say, "they met, and together continued in love, enacting in so far as they were able for the weill of the puir toune, and rightly governing of the commonwealth thereof, and setting the same to the greatest avail that it could be put unto in so calamitous times." When they returned, one of their first duties was "to go to the Commander-in-chief, and entreat for the church to preach in," which reminds us that their forefathers had presented a similar petition to Edward I. The response was a warrant from General Monk, referring to the Governor "the division of the said church," and asking the Council to give their "*band* for £5000 sterling for their peaceable deportment, and not wronging, nor molesting, the garrison." They were also taken bound "to build a mid-wall in the church," which was done, and thus for the first time in the history of St Michael's, the chancel and nave were separated. It was hard on the magistrates, who were Resolutioners, that after giving such a *band* they had to be content with the nave, while the Protesters were left in possession of the chancel, which at that time was the furnished portion of the building. But their visit to Culross evidently had cleared their minds, and made them more tolerant of differences than they had been.

The schism, bitter as it was at the time, did not last very long. On the 21st of July 1660 we find the Town Council ordaining their Treasurer to provide

"timber to be scaffolding for taking down the mid-wall of the church." The schism, apparently, by this time was healed, and Resolutioner and Protester were able, once again, "to dwell together in unity."

And it was wise of them to remove the mid-wall and become a united flock, for events were rapidly ripening in the State, which were to give them greater things to think of than the King's Engagement, or even the resolution of the General Assembly to sanction, on certain conditions, the uncovenanted to serve the interests of the country. The Lord Protector was dead; his successor, fortunately for Scotland, did not inherit his abilities; and Charles II., the rightful occupant of the throne, was about to receive a cordial welcome from his subjects. Nowhere did his return call forth more uproariousness than in Linlithgow. "I cannot," says the covenanting historian of the period, "omit one example of the madness of the people at that time. Upon the 29th of May 1661, the town of Lithgow, Robert Mylne being chief author, and Mr James Ramsay (who afterward ascended the height of the pitifull bishoprick of Dunblane) being minister, after they hade filled their streets with bonfires, very throng, and made their crosse run wine, added also this ridiculous pageant:—They framed ane arch, upon four pillars, and upon one side the picture of an old hagge, with the Covenant in her hand, and this inscription above, 'A glorious Reformation.' On the other side of the arch was a whigge, with the

Remonstrance in his hand, with this inscription, 'No Association with Malignants.' On the other side was the *Committee of Estates*, with this inscription, 'Ane Act for delivering up the King.' On the fourth side was *the Commission of the Kirk*, with this inscription, 'The Act of the West Kirk.' On the top of the arch stood the devil, with the inscription, 'Stand to the Cause.' In the midst of the arch was a litany,

' From Covenanters with uplifted hands,
 From Remonstrators with associate bands,
 From such Committees as govern'd this nation,
 From Church Commissions and their protestation,
 Good Lord deliver us.'

They had also the picture of Rebellion in a Religious habit, with the book *Lex Rex* in the one hand, and 'The causes of God's wrath' in the other; and this in the midst of rocks, and reels, and kirk stools, logs of wood, and spurs, and covenants, acts of assembly, protestations, with this inscription, 'Rebellion is the Mother of Witchcraft.' Then after the minister had sanctified the debauch with a goodly prayer, and while they were drinking the king's health, they put fire to the whole frame, which quickly turned it to ashes. Lastly, in place of this there appeared a table, supported by four Angels, with a sonnet to the king's praise, and so with drunkenness enough they concluded the day."¹

There is no evidence that the Town Council either appointed or countenanced this loyal, though some-

¹ Kirkton's *Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 126.

what foolish, demonstration.¹ We must, therefore, regard it as having been the action of Provost Mylne and the Rev. James Ramsay, both probably very half-hearted Covenanters in the past, and both unable to restrain their delight at the new turn which public sympathy had taken.² Neither is there any notice in the *Records of the Town Council* of an incident, related by Sir George M'Kenzie, that the Covenanters "drowned eighty women and children found guilty of following Montrose's camp, by precipitating them over the bridge at Linlithgow."³ This also, if it happened, must be treated as one of those excesses of passion which ought to be discounted in forming our estimate of persons and causes. On the whole, as there is no tradition of it in the place, it may be regarded as a legend. The Covenanters, no doubt, were bigots, but they fought the battle of freedom. The Malignants, if such men as the Rev. James Ramsay may stand as an example of them, were not without their virtues also. Every reference to Mr Ramsay in the books of the Town Council witnesses to the esteem in which he was

¹ "25th July 1696.—Appoints Bailie Inglis, William Higgins, and James Bell to search the Council Book, and try if there be anything marked therein anent burning of the Covenant, and to report ad viii.

"15th August 1696. — The Committee appointed for revising the Council Book reported that they had revised the said book anent burning of the Covenant, but they found nothing therein appointing the same to be done, nor any approbation thereof by the Council. Therefore the convener declares that the town had no hand in burning the said Covenant, and any aspersions put upon the town thereanent to be false and calumnious."—*Burgh Records*.

² *Ibid.*

³ Sir George Mackenzie's *Vindication* (see Works, edition 1722), vol. ii., p. 348.

held, to the interest which he took in the welfare of the poor, and to his efficiency as a parish minister. But he saw no special baseness in being a bishop, accepted first the Deanery of Hamilton, and afterwards "the pitifull Bishoprick of Dunblane," and *such conduct* was enough to condemn him in the estimation of the Covenanters.

It is scarcely necessary to add that in such stormy times, little, if anything, could be done for the fabric of the church.



CHAPTER VII

THE CHURCH IN THE NAVE—1669-1812

"Linlithgow, so noted for its hostility to covenants and conventicles."—CRICHTON'S *Memoirs of the Rev. John Blackader*.

IN the year 1663 a movement was inaugurated which was destined, notwithstanding the troubles of the times, to supply the inhabitants of Linlithgow with a restored church. This movement commenced with an official visitation of the church by the landward heritors and a committee of the Town Council, with the view of ascertaining the extent to which it required to be restored, and also the probable expense of restoring it.¹

The ruinous condition of the roof was the chief defect in the church at this time. But the windows, also, it appears, were far from satisfactory. After consulting on the state of matters, and taking the advice of skilled tradesmen, the heritors came to the conclusion that £1000 Scots would be required to put things right, and this—according to

¹ *Burgh Records*, 6th April 1663.

an agreement which was come to at this time, and which has remained in force ever since, viz., that the landward and burghal heritors shall bear the expense of maintaining the church in the proportion of one-third and two-thirds respectively—meant one thousand merks to the town.¹

For some time there was considerable discussion at the Council Board as to the best mode of raising the needed thousand merks. The magistrates resolved to inform the several incorporations of the amount required, and to ascertain their views on the question of raising it by means of a stint.² At this time the Town Council was so burdened with debt that they were unwilling, and probably unable, to secure any more money on loan. Accordingly, the question which they desired the incorporations to assist them in answering was: What method do you recommend us to adopt in raising the thousand merks necessary for restoring the church? The incorporations did not approve of raising it by a stint.³ Notwithstanding, however, their opposition to a stint or assessment, that method (the only one which

¹ *Burgh Records*, 28th April 1663.

² *Ibid.*, 11th May 1663.

³ "The which day the Council upon consideration that the deacons refuse to consent to the stinting of our burgh for the thousand merks imposed upon the same, for reparation of our church, and of the necessity of repairing thereof, and that they cannot have moneys for borrowing, and sundry are not clear to borrow any more moneys, there being no way concluded for the payment of our present burdens without contracting any more. Therefore the Council unanimously (except James Glen and the deacons) ordains the said sum of one thousand merks to be proportioned and laid upon the inhabitants by way of stint, and the said sum to be uplifted and paid."—*Burgh Records*, 30th May 1663.

promised success in the circumstances) was adopted, and a committee appointed "to proportionate the same sum upon the burgesses and inhabitants."¹ William Heart was appointed treasurer of the restoration scheme, and James Crichton collector of the thousand merks to be contributed by the burgh.

The proposal to raise the money by a stint met with considerable opposition. James Glen and the deacons dissented, and William Inglis and George Gibson, for "deserting of the meeting elected for the subdividing of the said sum of one thousand merks upon the inhabitants,"² and thus setting a bad example to others, were each fined five pounds. As, however, the magistrates collected the money under the penalty of *quartering*, the likelihood is that, however unwilling some might be, most of the inhabitants would contribute their quota.³

This scheme of restoration included the repairing

¹ "The Council have made choice of the persons afternamed to meet, subdivide, and proportionate upon our burgesses and inhabitants one thousand merks Scots for our part of the reparation of our church, viz., Nicol Gardner, elder, Thomas Duncan, James Russell, Alexander Scougal, Walter Buckney, William Smith, William Andrew, John Masterton, Walter Fleming, William Nicoll, Sebastian Balderstoun, John Duncan, younger, Gilbert Mastertoun, Robert Mayne, Richard Laurence, John Hoggan, Joseph Frame. Ordains them to be lawfully warned to meet for that effect on Monday next, at six hours in the morning, ilk person under the pain of five pounds, and the magistrates to take their oath."—*Burgh Records*, 27th June 1663.

² *Burgh Records*, 4th July 1663.

³ "Ordains the money imposed upon our burgh and subdividing of the same for the reparation of our church, to be paid by each person enrolled for payment of their parts to James Crichton, Treasurer, chosen collector thereof, the next week, dayly at two afternoon, at the ringing of the bell, beginning on Monday next, under the pain of quartering."—*Burgh Records*, 14th May 1664.

of the roofs of the body of the church and of the aisles, the mending and glazing of the windows,¹ and the fitting up of galleries, with, of course, the seating of that portion of the building selected for use. As a preliminary step it was thought advisable to come to an agreement with the landward heritors, as to the division of the church pews between the landward and burghal portions of the parish.² For effecting this agreement the "gentlemen of the out-parish" selected as their representatives the lairds of Riccarton, Kettleston, and Parkley, and the Town Council appointed Robert Stewart, Provost, Thomas Heart, Bailie, and James Glen, Dean of Guild.³

¹ "Recommends to Thomas Heart and Robert Milne, bailies, to speak and agree with the masons for the building up of the north-west window of the church, blown down with the wind, and with a glazier for making up the glass thereof."—*Burgh Records*, 5th Dec. 1663. This window has recently been renewed again through the generosity of Robert Mickel, Esq., of Rivaldsgreen.

² "The which day the Council being met to empower some of their number to meet with the heritors of the out-parish within the church the morrow, for dividing of the church betwixt them and us, for building of the pews therein, and for helping and upholding of the roof of the church, they have elected for that purpose the Provost, Bailies, and Dean of Guild, with George Lourie and James Litster, Deacons."—*Burgh Records*, 28th December 1663.

³ "The which day those empowered for meeting with the gentlemen of the out-parish for visiting of the church and erecting of pews therein, reported that the same was committed to the lairds of Riccarton, Kettlestoun, and Parkley, or any two of them for the gentlemen, and three to be elected by the Council. Therefore, and in obedience thereof, they have made choice of Robert Stewart, Provost, Thomas Heart, Bailie, and James Glen, Dean of Guild, empowering them to meet with the said gentlemen, for the division of the church between them and us, for erecting of the pews therein, and report."—*Burgh Records*, 2nd January 1664.

Note.—The lairds of Riccarton, Kettleston, and Parkley at this time were William Drummond, James Canning, and James Hamilton respectively.

On the 14th of May 1664 the Provost informed the Council that "the gentlemen of the out-parish and they had concurred to the changing of the pulpit in the church from the north, to be built on the south, in that place where the pulpit was when the church was divided, and that the town's men were to have for their accommodation the north side of the church, with the haill west end, and the half of the east end."¹

On the 28th October 1671 the magistrates resolved to "cause build their seat in the church, having also secured that none that are shall face their seat."² Again, on the 18th April 1672, they unanimously agreed that "the whole pews in the church shall be made upon the bounds allocated to them, all uniform"; and they ordered James Hislop "to provide timber, and make up all the said pews, and, after that the said pews shall be completed, that every person shall have their pew allocated to them, and every one shall pay for their pew, so provided, as the Magistrates and Council shall appoint."³ In October of the same year, the Provost reported "that he had agreed for and bought a velvet cushion and a carpet, which is in use for their loft in the church."⁴ At another meeting (31st October 1672) it is minuted that "our pews in the church are all entire and finished," whereupon the Council proceeded to consider "the best way how the pew-holders shall be satisfied." From these minutes it may be inferred that the restoration of the church, twice begun and twice postponed, was finished in the end of the year 1672, after having occupied the

¹ *Burgh Records.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

attention of the heritors for a period of nine years. How long it was actually in the hands of the tradesmen it is impossible to say.

By this restoration the nave became the parish church ; the chancel and transepts being used for interments. A very fair idea of the church, as so adapted for worship, may still be gathered from the Records of the Town Council. The pulpit was placed on the south side, at the pillar nearly opposite the south door. The ground floor was occupied with "nineteen pews with their faces to the east, twenty-six pews with their faces to the south, and ten pews with their faces to the west." There were five lofts. The gallery along the north aisle made three, which in those days were known as the North loft, the front seats of which were allocated to the King, the Earl of Linlithgow, and the magistrates of the burgh. On the right-hand side of the pulpit was the east loft, the half of which was assigned to the Guildry. The west loft at the left-hand side of the pulpit was allocated to the incorporations of smiths and tailors. The cordiners or shoemakers seem also to have had a loft in the west end, and some other incorporations aspired likewise to the dignity of a loft ; but on the 30th November 1672 the Town Council unanimously ordained that "there shall be no more lofts built in the west end of the church above the Crafts pews already built thereupon, except the Cordiners' loft which they are presently building thereon." The Council, however, reserved to themselves the right of "granting to such of the Crafts as shall happen here-

after so to multiply that the pews they have already in the church shall not conveniently contain them, the right to build a loft.”¹ Several of the incorporations had pews in the area of the church.

It has been already stated that, in pre-Reformation times, the incorporations supported altars or chantries in the church. After the Reformation, when these chantries were no longer in existence, the magistrates decreed that the incorporations should support the windows, or *lichtis*, as they are termed ;² and in the

¹ “The which day the Council unanimously promises and do appoint that there shall be no more lofts built in the west-end of the church above the Crafts pews already built thereupon, except the Cordiners’ loft which they are presently building thereupon ; but only in granting to such of the Crafts to build lofts on the same who shall happen hereafter so to multiply that the pews they have already in the church shall not conveniently contain them.”—*Burgh Records*, 30th November 1672.

² “The Council having gone with the Deacons of Crafts to the church of the said Burgh for to know each Trade’s window, conform to a former Act made thereanent, find the window on the west end of the church and upon the north side of the steeple, pertains to the Cordiners ; the window above the north church door pertains to the Smiths ; the window on the east side of the said north door at the entry to the lofts on the north side, the Council finds that it was given to the Coopers, in place of the window in St Katharine’s aisle. They find in the Queir that the window above the south door thereof and that other window in the north side foragaint the same does both pertain to the Tailors ; that the window immediately be-east the south church door in the Queir belongs to the Baxters ; the next window on the east betwixt the Baxters window and the Commons’ pertains to the Wrights. They find that the window upon the south side of the church, upon the east side of the public and most patent church door, belongs to the Weavers ; the eastmost heigh south window within the body of the church belongs to the Fleshers ; the middle heigh south window of the body of the church pertains to Gilbert Mastertoun, glazier, and George Lourie, saddler, his son-in-law ; the two westmost high south windows in the church pertain to the trade of the Gardiners ; the eastmost high window of the church on the north side (except ane) belongs to Thomas Millar, slater ; the westmost high window on the said north side of the church (except ane) belongs to Andrew Glen’s heirs. The Council appoints the Treasurer for to repair this window, and ordains none to pretend entry to, nor bury in Andrew

annual statement of the intromissions of the deacons of the various crafts there is always entered a certain sum as having been expended in upholding their respective lights in the church.¹ In connection with this restoration of 1672 the incorporations seem to have made a special effort, with the result that all the windows upheld by them were put into a sufficient state of repair. The windows, other than those supported by the incorporations, were attended to by the Town Council, so that at the end of their labours they were in a position to report that "parts of the church were glazed which had never hitherto been glazed in the memory of man."²

On the 29th of April 1673, when this restoration scheme was nearing completion, the Kirk-session met and passed an Act approving of, and ratifying, all that

Glen's burial place in the church, until they shall reimburse the Treasurer of the whole expense that he shall be put to in repairing the foresaid window. Last, the Council finds that the middle great window of Sanctum Sanctorum at the east end of the Queir pertains to the good town. Therefore they appoint the Treasurer to repair the same."—*Burgh Records*, 19th September 1687.

(See also minutes of date 19th July 1622 ; 29th July 1693, and 20th October 1722.)

¹ "19th Sep. 1663.—Deacons' compts discharge.

"*Smiths*.—For maintaining of their lights in the church, £2.

"*Tailors*.—For maintaining of their light in the church, £2.

"*Baxters*.—For the building of a back seat to their seat in the kirk, £7 ; for their lights in the kirk, £2.

"*Cordiners*.—For maintaining their lights in the kirk, £2.

"*Websters*.—For upholding of their light in the kirk, £2.

"*Wrights*.—For upholding their light in the kirk, £2.

"*Coopers*.—For upholding their light in the kirk, £2.

"*Fleshers*.—For building of their seat in the kirk, £5 ; for upholding their lights in the kirk, £2.

"*Gardeners*.—For upholding their lights in the kirk, £1, 12s."

² *Burgh Records*.

had been done by the landward heritors and the Town Council. As this Act exhibits the control over church fabrics exercised by kirk-sessions in those days, and also throws an interesting side-light on the manner in which the church of Linlithgow was furnished, it may be well to quote it in full. "Within the kirk of Lithgow, 29th April 1673, the which day the ministers and elders of the kirk of Lithgow, being met anent the affairs of the church, and being represented to them that the heritors of the parish of Lithgow, magistrates of the burgh thereof, and the said elders being met upon warrant upon the 9th May 1664, agreed and resolved that the pulpit should stand upon that pillar within the body of the church where Mr James Ramsay preached when the church was divided, and that the division of the rooms for seats in the said church should be according to the rule which was when the whole congregation was contracted within the choir in the year 1649—that is to say, that the town should have the north side of the church and the whole west end, and the landward should have the whole south side and the half of the east end, the seats not extending further in the body of the kirk than may leave sufficient accommodation for celebrating of the Holy Communion. The seats both on the north and south sides extending all alike far before the pillars on the respective sides north and south—and the King's Majesty's seat to be on the pillar directly opposite to the pulpit, leaving to the Earl of Linlithgow on which side of the King's seat, east or west, his Lordship will direct his seat,

like as the heritors and magistrates upon the 8th day of March 1670, and the most of them not being at the last meeting the 9th May 1664, they unanimously did condescend and agree to that which was resolved and agreed unto the foresaid day, with this qualification that the heritors are to have the half of the east end of the church below, upon the ground, with the whole loft from the one side of the church to the other above, providing that the council of Lithgow after representation thereof to them, consent thereto, and no otherwise, and such like upon the 29th day of the same month of March the heritors of the said parish and the magistrates of the said burgh being frequently met, they unanimously condescended that the town seats laigh stand according to the draught, and the gentlemen to advance to the body of the church so far as conveniently may, not exceeding three feet further nor the draught. And likewise that the gentlemen heritors should have a loft on the east end of the church, reserving a considerable part of the arch free of the loft for the light ; and in like manner considering that the Provost, Bailies, and Council of the said burgh upon their no little charges they have built within the said church nineteen pews with their faces to the east, twenty-six pews with their faces to the south, with ten pews with their faces to the west, together with the King's loft, with four lofts built on the north part thereof, and the cordiners' loft upon the west side of the same, where by the draught it was allocated to them for to do, and that for accommodation of hearing and decorement of the

church, wherefore the said ministers and elders of the same church do unanimously ratify and approve, not only the rights before mentioned, agreed, and resolved unto, by the gentlemen of the said parish and magistrates of the said burgh at the several representative meetings above rehersit anent the changing of the said pulpit, and building of the foresaid lofts and pews in the said church as is therein and above designed, but also the said lofts and pews already built within the said church by the said magistrates and council as they are presently built and standing, and in like manner, all rights and securities which they and their successors from time to time in all time hereafter shall grant to the burgesses."¹

From various references to the church in later minutes of the Town Council, it appears that the landward heritors did not push forward their part of the restoration with the same diligence as did the Town Council. The Council, who as usual acted for the burgesses, built all their pews of the same pattern, and at the conclusion of the scheme charged the burgesses in proportion to the amount of accommodation allotted to each. The landward heritors, on the contrary, did not act unitedly, nor by a representative committee, but left each proprietor to fit up a pew for himself in his allotted space, to his own taste, and at his own convenience. Accordingly, thirty years after the town had fitted up and furnished their portion, the heritors were still defaulters to some extent in that

¹ *Burgh Records.*

respect.¹ They seem to have employed country wrights to make pews and fit them into the church as they were required ; and if they had no need of a pew, they did not provide one at all.² The result of this *modus operandi* was that, at a later period, and to a succeeding generation who did not know how it came about, the Town Council seemed to have an undue proportion of the church, and an investigation was instituted on the part of the landward heritors to ascertain if they were in possession of their full rights.

The thousand merks for which the inhabitants of the burgh had been stinted were all required to repair the roof and allarins, and large as the sum was, does not seem to have placed these beyond the need of being frequently restored at subsequent dates.³ For the expense of changing the church from the chancel to

¹ "The which day the Deacon of the Shoemakers gave over to the town the foir-front of their old loft in the kirk, which the Treasurer is to put up in the void betwixt the Dean of Guild's loft and the pillar at Riccarton's seat, which is to stand there until the heritors build their seats, and whosoever shall make use of the said timber foir-front shall pay therefor to the shoemakers 12 shillings Scots."—*Burgh Records*, 3rd January 1702.

² "The Council appoints that in all time coming no seats be brought into the town from landward to be set in the kirk, but only such as shall be made by the freemen of the wrights."—*Burgh Records*, 17th March 1694.

³ "The Bailies and those appointed to speak with Allan Marshall anent the pains taken by him for mending of the broken slates in the raising of the back of the kirk which was broken by lyeing on the lead on the alarines, and for theiking of the whole roof of the kirk on the south side ; they thought fit he should have £32, the one half thereof to be paid by the Treasurer and the other half by Thomas Strudders."—*Burgh Records*, 19th December 1674.

"Appoints the Treasurer to pay to Thomas Miller £74 for his work in tiring and theiking the Queir and Sanctum Sanctorum."—*Burgh Records*, 22nd October 1687.

the nave, and of supplying the nave with galleries and pews, the Town Council resolved to recoup themselves by making a charge against all who desired sitting accommodation, at the rate of fifty shillings Scots per foot. By this means they realised £947, 1s. 8d. Each purchaser was granted a disposition, the terms of which may still be found in the Burgh Records. The seats which remained unsold were leased from year to year, and sometimes when the magistrates thought they could realise better prices, they resorted to the plan of holding a roup of them within the church.

To the Town Council at the commencement of this restoration was allotted two-thirds of the ground space, and to the landward heritors, one-third. But while the landward heritors were dilatory in seating their third, the Council were always disposed to appropriate all that had been allotted to them, and even to cram an extra pew into any odd corner or passage where they thought one might be built. For example, in 1692 they erected four new pews in the central passage in front of their pews on the north side, which they allocated—one to Provost Turnbull; a second to Bailie Higgins, Robert Higgins, Dean of Guild, and John Higgins, merchant, equally among them; a third to Walter Stewart of Pardovan; and the fourth to Bailie Hunter, Treasurer Andrew, and John Currie, merchant. The erection of these additional pews cost £61, 12s. Scots, which sum was refunded to the Council by those who got possession of them. Again, on the 4th of July 1702, the Council

resolved to build a new loft.¹ This, as well as the dilatory manner in which the landward heritors appropriated the third allotted to them, may have had to do with the complaint above referred to, that the Town Council had more than their proper share of the church.

The church, as thus restored, continued to be used as the church of the parish for a period of one hundred and forty years. The restoration was begun in the ministry of Mr James Ramsay, who publicly burned the "Solemn League and Covenant" at the cross of Linlithgow on the occasion of the restoration of King Charles II., and who was promoted to the Deanery of Hamilton, and, afterwards, to the Bishopric of Dunblane. It was practically finished before the Revolution Settlement, and may therefore be looked upon as the work of Episcopalians. The two ministers, Mr Alexander Seton² and Mr John Burnett, who were in charge of the parish during the period in which it was carried through, were both nominees of the Bishop of St Andrews; for, strange to say, Linlithgow church at this time had the Bishop of St Andrews for its patron, and the Bishop of Edinburgh for its *Ordinary*. Its minister, who during the

¹ "The same day the Council considering that there are many honest people in the town who are not accommodated with seats in the kirk, and that there is a void room in the kirk belonging to the town besouth of the Shoemakers loft where a loft may be built conveniently. Therefore the Council have agreed to build a loft in the said void facing east, to the west corner of the window at the repentance stool, and appoints the Treasurer to buy timber for building thereof, and to employ workmen and furnish all material. The seats of which loft after it is built are to be disposed of as the Council shall think fit."—*Burgh Records*.

² This name is usually spelt in the *Session Records* Seytone. We have adopted the more modern spelling.

first Episcopacy had been a Prebendary of St Andrews, was during this period a Prebendary of Edinburgh. There was, therefore, no lack of episcopal control; and if the restoration which has just been described was not characterised by æsthetic taste, the blame cannot be laid upon presbytery; nor need it be laid upon episcopacy either, as an explanation of it may easily be found in the poverty, and consequent utilitarianism of the times. Mr Seton, the minister of the first charge, immediately on the Revolution Settlement, became, in the phraseology of the magistrates, a "pretended curate" and was shortly afterwards deposed. Mr Trent,¹ who had very recently been inducted to the second charge, was dismissed by the Privy Council for declining to pray for William and Mary. Those were the days of Provost Walter Stewart of Pardovan, an elder of the Kirk, and the author of a book which has done much to regulate its administration. Besides dismissing the clergy, Provost Stewart dismissed Mr Kirkwood, the Rector of the Grammar School—the author of a Latin Grammar which was long a text-book in higher class schools in Scotland—but in the *Dominie* he found a worthy successor of Ninian Winzet, who had bearded John Knox. His dismissal gave occasion for a litigation; and, while the litigation was pending, for the publication of a pamphlet entitled "The 27 gods of

¹ "The Provost produced an Act of the Privy Council, dated the 15th day of August instant, depriving Mr Patrick Trent, second minister, of his benefice at the church, and discharging him from preaching and exercising any part of his ministerial functions within the parish, for his not praying for King William and Queen Mary."—*Burgh Records*.

Linlithgow," in which Stewart and his fellow-councillors were supplied with an amount of useful information about themselves which was probably more plain than palatable.

Of the church as restored in 1672 there are four portraits from the pens of travellers who visited Linlithgow at various times during the century and a half of its existence. Thomas Morer, who must have seen it as it left the hands of the tradesmen, if indeed it was quite out of their hands at the time, was favourably impressed with it, and describes it as "large, with a handsome gallery, and a seat for the King."¹ Captain Burt, who visited Scotland in 1730, writes of it thus: "There is nothing remarkable in my way to Glasgow that I took notice of, being in haste, but the church of Linlithgow—a noble Gothic building, formerly a Cathedral,² now much in ruins, chiefly from the usual rage that attends Reformation. It is really provoking to see how the populace have broke and defaced the statues and other ornaments under the notion of their being relics of popery. As this town was our waiting-place, a gentleman—the son of a celebrated Scots Bishop—who was with me, proposed that while dinner was getting ready we should go and see the inside of the structure, and as we took notice that great part of the floor was broken up, and that the pews were immoderately dusty, the precentor, or clerk,³ who attended us took occasion to

¹ Morer's *Short Account of Scotland*, p. 107.

² Captain Burt is in error as to this.

³ It is more likely to have been the church officer, known in Scotland as the beadle; and Scotch beadles are frequently great wags.

say he did not apprehend that cleanliness was essential to devotion; upon which my friend turned hastily upon him and said very angrily, 'What! this church was never intended for your slovenly worship.'"¹ Robert Burns, the national bard of Scotland, whose powers of observation and description will be admitted, visited the church in 1787. He describes it as "a pretty good old Gothic church: the famous stool of repentance in the old Romish way, in a lofty situation. What a poor pimping business," says he, "is a Presbyterian place of worship!—dirty, narrow and squalid, stuck in a corner of old popish grandeur such as Linlithgow."² In 1803, when the church, as above restored, had served its day and generation and was about to undergo another restoration, it was visited by Miss Dorothy Wordsworth, who, in her *Tour in Scotland*, describes it thus: "The shell of a small ancient church is standing, into which are crammed wooden pews, galleries, and pulpit—very ugly and discordant with the exterior." These descriptions of the church, though contradictory in some details, and erroneous in others, as the accounts of passing travellers are apt to be, yet afford a very good general conception of the church as restored in 1672.

There is nothing deserving to be chronicled between this restoration of the church and the next, which will be described in the following chapter. The Council continued to repair the windows, and to

¹ Burt's *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland*, second edition, vol. i., p. 30.

² Chambers's *Life of Burns*; Constable's *Miscellany*, vol. xxiii., p. 156.

“theik” the roof from time to time, as required. In 1768, when “the weathercock on the kirk steiple was blown down and the steiple itself somewhat damaged by a late storm,” they appointed a committee to visit the steeple and to have the cock replaced. In 1777 they employed Deacon Andrew Meikle to fit up a partition betwixt the church and the choir, on the ground that it would tend to the warmness of the church. By these, and numerous little acts of the kind, the heritors and Town Council preserved to the present generation the beautiful and substantial church which we possess—more admired now than ever—and which, but for the much maligned “demon of restoration,” would probably have been an unsightly cairn.

It will not be deemed unsuitable to conclude this chapter by a reference to one of the bells. On the 23rd January 1773, the Council recommended the Treasurer “to take the dimensions of the second bell in the church steeple, which has been fractured for many years, and to consult with the proper persons at Edinburgh as to the expense of a new bell of the same dimensions, and what allowance will be given for the old metal.” At the following meeting (February 6th) the Council appointed “the second bell to be taken down from the kirk steiple and carried to Borrowstouness, there to be weighed and put under the care of Mr Charles Addison, until the Provost write a letter to Mr Lester, bell-founder, at the Three Bells, Whitechapel, London, who they are informed is the properest person for furnishing a new bell, there being none in Edinburgh sufficiently

versant in these matters." The Provost (March 2nd) reported that "he had wrote to London concerning a new second bell, and had received an answer, which was read." It was ordered that "the old bell be immediately sent to London, and the old stock along with it, in order that a new stock with iron and wheel may be there fitted to the new bell, which it is resolved shall be fixed and rung by a wheel"; it is also ordered that "the town arms and the year of God be put on the new bell, and the Provost to correspond with the bell-maker on this subject." The Provost produced (May 15th), "a letter from Messrs Peck and Chapman, bell-founders in London, signifying that in consequence of the order sent them, they had cast a new bell, which they had shipped on board the *Samuel and Jean* of Bo'ness, James Drummond, master, whose receipt, dated the fifth current, is prefixed to the letter, along with which there is also an account of the whole expense, amounting to £55, 3s. 6d. sterling, and after deduction for the old bell-metal of £27, 13s. 1d., the balance due turned out £27, 10s. 5d., which sum the Council authorise and empower the Provost to receive from the Treasurer in order to remit to London, and appoint the accompt to be ingrossed."

The bell which was removed was dedicated to St Michael, and had on it the following inscription:—

"Sancto Michael Archangelo—ora pro nobis.

T.N.M. me fecit anno Domini MCCCCLXXXIII." ¹

¹ *The King's Master Masons*, by Milne, p. 9.

CHAPTER VIII

BACK TO THE CHANCEL—1812-1890

"Linlythgwe, decored with the king's palice, a beutifull temple, and a pleasand loch swomeng full of fyne perchis, and otheris notable fische."—LESLIE.

IN the year 1775 the Rev. James Dobie, having recently been settled in the ministry of Linlithgow, wrote of the church: "The inside of this church at present does by no means correspond to its outward appearance. The east part might be converted into an elegant place of worship, and would, it is believed, accommodate as many as the present. This, or some improvement of a similar kind, will, it is hoped, be soon made."¹ This is the earliest forecast which exists of the restoration carried out in 1812-13, a forecast, the fulfilment of which, hastened by unexpected circumstances, was to be realised sooner than Mr Dobie anticipated.

It came about in this way. In the year 1808 the inhabitants of Linlithgow were thrown into a state of panic by a report that the roof of the church was about to fall. The report was not without foundation.

¹ Sinclair's *Statistical Account*, vol. xiv., p. 568 (note).

"The large beams immediately under the inside of the roof of the church were very insufficiently secured, and the ends of some of these beams, which had been originally inserted in the wall of the church, had become rotten and decayed."¹ The local tradesmen, whom the Provost² consulted in the first instance, reported that "these beams appeared to them to be insufficiently secured, and to threaten danger." The Provost, with consent of the Council, afterwards consulted an Edinburgh architect (Mr Alexander Laing), who reported that in his opinion "any repair that can be made on that crazy roof will be attended with risk and danger. What is much needed," said he, "is a new roof."³

The Town Council appear until this time to have attended to all ordinary repairs made on the church, and to have met the expense of them from the *common good* of the burgh. But when an occasion like the present arose, which pointed to the possibility of a serious demand being made on their finances, they immediately bethought themselves of the "gentlemen of the out-parish," and took steps to secure assistance from them. Since the last restoration, the landward heritors had been little in evidence, and so completely had the Town Council borne all ordinary expenses, that even the arrangement made and given effect to at that time—that the landward heritors were to pay one-third, and the Town Council two-thirds of the expense of maintaining the church—

¹ From a report made to the Town Council by local tradesmen.

² Provost Alexander Seton.

³ *Burgh Records*.

was forgotten. Now, however, that a new roof was necessary, and a new restoration of the interior highly expedient, they resolved "that a search shall be made into the Records to discover how far they are liable, and how far the Heritors at large are liable."¹ The result of the investigation was that the ancient agreement was discovered, and the Town Council, being satisfied of its accuracy, undertook to "become bound for two-thirds of the cost to be incurred"; and they also instructed their committee to support at the heritors' meeting the proposal that "while the roof of the West end shall be repaired, the church shall be removed to the East end."²

Meanwhile the Town Council were busy discussing the manner in which they were to raise their two-thirds of the total expense to be incurred. Being unable to solve this vexed question themselves, they resolved to take legal advice. The Provost³ caused to be prepared a series of questions, to which was prefixed a brief historical statement, which he, Bailie Gibson, and Sir Alexander Seton, being in Edinburgh, laid before "that able lawyer, Mr David Cathcart." The questions were concerned with the old difficulty which had been so keenly discussed in 1663, viz., should the money be raised by an assessment laid on the inhabitants, or should it be levied from the seat-holders in proportion to the value and extent of the accommodation given to them? Mr Cathcart preferred the latter mode, which he recommended to the

¹ Minute of Town Council, 23rd Nov. 1811.

² *Ibid.*

³ Provost Adam Dawson.

Council "as a fair and equitable principle," and which they, no doubt with the best intentions, adopted. Whatever Mr Cathcart's *opinion* may be worth as legal advice (a subject on which the author presumes not to express his views), it has produced many regrettable results. It has caused two-thirds of the pews to be held as private property ; led to numerous rouns, sales, and sequestrations of pews ; and is accountable for the strange anomaly that a person living in Linlithgow may require to pay a pew-rent to one living in Burmah, in order to have the privilege of worshipping in his own parish church. It has, in fact, to a great extent deprived the poor of the burgh of the advantages of a parish church altogether, for, except for the generosity of certain landward heritors, and the indifference of certain pew-owners to their rights, there should not be a single seat in the church to which a poor person living in the burgh could resort.

On the 19th of May 1812, a general meeting of the heritors of the parish was held, "in consequence of an appointment of the Presbytery," at which resolutions were adopted which largely determined the nature of the restoration to be carried out. Colonel Ferrier of Belsyde presided, and the meeting was well attended by both the landward and burghal heritors. "The following resolutions," says the minute, "were moved and carried by a great majority."
"1. That in the opinion of this meeting, seats for 1200 or 1300 persons are fully sufficient for accommodating both the Burgh and Heritors of this parish,

and that the said seats be divided among the Burgh and Heritors of the parish on the principle as at present existing, viz., two-thirds to the Burgh, and one-third to the Heritors. 2. That it is the opinion of this meeting that the East end of the church be fitted up as a place of worship, and that, in terms of the report of the Architects, the screen-wall be removed to the next pillar to the West, and that the old part of the church be re-roofed and paved, and used as the entrance to the place of worship. 3. That a Committee be appointed from the Heritors, who, in conjunction with one from the Presbytery and Burgh, do take immediate steps for procuring a plan and specification of the manner and expense of fitting up and carrying into execution the repairs this day determined upon; that the following gentlemen do compose the said Committee, viz., Colonel Ferrier, Sir Alexander Seton, Mr Baird, Mr Learmonth, and Mr Bauchop, any three a quorum; Colonel Ferrier, Convener. And that the said Committee be prepared with the plan and specification to lay before the meeting on Wednesday the 10th of June. That Mr Ferrier do act in conjunction with the persons that may be appointed from the Presbytery and Burgh to prepare a memorial to the Lords of Treasury, in order to obtain such assistance as to their Lordships may seem proper towards defraying the expense of fitting up a seat to his Majesty." These findings were reported to the Town Council by the Provost on the 23rd of May, from whose report it appears also that the Council's representatives had concurred,

and that, in consequence of the said vote, instructions had been given to Mr Gillespie, architect, Edinburgh, "to prepare and lodge with the Presbytery and Heritors, against the 10th day of June next, a plan and specification of the proposed place of worship, and of the seating thereof."¹

The resolution to move the church to the east end, or chancel, did not meet with universal approval. There were certain heritors who, before committing themselves to it, were anxious to be satisfied of its wisdom. They proposed that the architect should prepare "two several plans, one showing the seating of the place of worship in the East end, and another showing the seating in the West end, and also a section of the roof."² The Town Council, though favouring the east end, had instructed their representatives to vote for the preparation of two plans; but when the meeting of heritors and presbytery took place, there was such a majority in favour of *one plan*, showing the seating in the chancel, that all the Town Council representatives, except Mr Napier, concurred. Sir Alexander Seton, who, besides being a heritor, was an ex-provost and still a councillor of the burgh, protested at the heritors' meeting and afterwards at the Town Council, for himself and those who might agree with him, against the proceedings as being "irregular and illegal." And although nothing came of his protest, it might still be contended that wisdom was with him rather than with the majority of the heritors. For, if the congregation

¹ *Burgh Records.*

² *Ibid.*

had remained in the nave, where there are five bays, they might have had ample accommodation without injuring the fabric ; whereas, by removing to the east end, they could only secure that accommodation by destroying the chancel arch, and adding one of the bays of the nave to the three of which the chancel consists. The removal of the chancel arch is greatly to be regretted. It is the greatest act of vandalism to which the church has been subjected during its long history—an act of vandalism which puts to shame the worst deeds of the “Lords of the Congregation,” or even of the “rascal multitude” in the sixteenth century. If only Mr Dobie, who was probably the instigator of this change, had been pleased to place his pulpit in front of the chancel arch, in place of the apsidal one, he might have had his “elegant place of worship,” and we to-day should have had the ancient chancel arch—probably the most unique feature which the church possessed.

At length, on the 10th of June, Mr Gillespie was in a position to submit his plan and specification. Though the author has received from the descendants of those who took part in this restoration large bundles of papers, specifications, estimates, offers, minutes of committee, agreements, etc., he has not been able to lay his hands on the plan. This, however, is less to be regretted, that he has seen the result of that plan—a result which will still be well remembered by the great majority of his local readers. As, moreover, Mr Gillespie's specification is among the papers in his possession, he is in a

position to state that the mason-work included taking down the screen-wall, restoring the mullions of the windows, pointing the walls of the church throughout, and repairing the gutters within the parapet wall. It also included flooring with droved pavement "all the West end of the church, and the passages of the East end betwixt the seats and landing places." The joiner work, which fills several pages of the specification, deals mainly with the removal of the old roof, and the fitting-up of an entirely new one; the erection of galleries in the east end; the supplying of a new pulpit "in the Gothic style"; and new seats for the area and galleries. Such, briefly stated, was Mr Gillespie's plan of restoration. It met with the approval both of the landward and burghal heritors, and to see it carried out, there was a large committee appointed, which included, in addition to the landward heritors already mentioned, the following representatives of the burgh: viz., Provost Adam Dawson; James M'Farlane, Peter Clark, John Gibson, John Glen, Bailies; Andrew Speeden, Dean of Guild; Christopher Davie, Treasurer; William Napier, and Stephen Mitchell, merchant, Councillors; William Gardiner, Deacon of the Tailors; and Peter Callander, Deacon of the Cordiners.¹

The committee, shortly after their appointment, proceeded to take offers, and by November of the year 1813 had contracted with Robert Mickel, wright, and John Gibb, mason, both of Linlithgow, to do the work. Meanwhile the Easter meeting-house was

¹ Specification in the author's possession, and also the *Burgh Records*.

kindly placed at the service of the congregation by the Anti-burghers, who granted them the use of it "the whole day when they had no sermon, and the afternoon of those days they had sermon, without any view to remuneration or reward, leaving it entirely to the Committee of the Parish to do in this as they shall deem proper."¹ By the contract, it is stipulated that Messrs Mickel and Gibb, for the sum of £2180 sterling, to be paid to them by instalments, and at certain periods specified, and in consideration also that the heritors and Council have conceded and made over to them *gratis* the whole materials of the former roof of the church,² and the whole materials of the old pulpit, old galleries, old pews, and the stones of the screen-wall,³ and stones of the floor of the church, in so far as they may not be claimed as private property,—are to take down the old roof and erect a new one, remove the screen-wall, and fit up galleries extending along the north and south aisles of the chancel and the eastmost bay of the nave, and another gallery at the west end of these extending from the north to the south wall, and uniting the two side galleries, and to fill the area of the church and of the galleries with pews, according to the plan and speci-

¹ *Records of the Anti-burgher Congregation.*

² This was the "durable roof" erected by Bishop Crichton. It was of oak, and portions of the oak are occasionally to be met with still, in the older houses of the burgh.

³ The screen-wall referred to is the ancient chancel arch, which descended from the ceiling, and advanced towards the centre of the church on both sides, so as to make the arch little larger than those dividing the aisles. Its foundations were laid bare in carrying out the restoration of 1890-95 and Mr Honeyman, the accomplished architect, supplied the author with the above information.

fication, before Martinmas 1813, with these reservations that the groining of the plaster ceiling is not to extend beyond the portion of the church to be used for worship, and that the contractors are to be at liberty to use such parts of the old material as shall be found "fit and sufficient" in executing the work stipulated.¹

It is not an unusual experience, on the part of those who undertake the restoration of an ancient building, to find that the work is greater than they originally anticipated. Such was the experience of the heritors and Town Council of Linlithgow in 1812. The tradesmen had not been more than a few months occupied in fitting up a new roof on the main body of the church, when the architect reported to the committee that the roofs of the *allarins*² were also in a most unsatisfactory condition; "and that it would be necessary for the committee to extend their operations so as to include them."³ This led to another specification and another agreement with the tradesmen, and very considerably increased the estimated expenditure. In fact, before the committee had completed their restoration, there were so many additional contracts to be made, and so many *extras* to be met, that the £2180 had become an expenditure of £4117, 14s. 8d. They had the satisfaction, however, of having fitted up a very comfortable and commodious Presbyterian church, which, if only men's ideas would remain stationary, might have been the church of the

¹ Agreement between the Restoration Committee and the Contractors.

² Aisles.

³ *Burgh Records*.

parish a century longer than it was. Nor can it honestly be said that it was ugly. Anywhere else than stuck in the end of an ancient Gothic fabric like St Michael's, it might have been regarded as excellent and beautiful. Where it was, it was doomed sooner or later, in an age of æsthetic progress, to be sacrificed on the altar of good taste.

The author of *Recollections of Past Times*¹ was a young man when this restoration was carried out. He saw the church, he tells us, when the old galleries and pews had been removed from the nave, and before the new galleries had been placed in the chancel. Then the ancient arch which separated nave and chancel was still in existence, and everything, so far as the fabric is concerned, was very much as the "Lords of the Congregation" had left it at the Reformation. Once more it stood open from end to end after having been galleried both in chancel and nave. Writing in the year 1867, more than half a century afterwards, Mr Dawson says, "We saw this edifice when all obstructions were removed, from end to end, and *there* stood St Michael's in all its simple grandeur. The eye, ranging over a clear space of upwards of sixty yards, was met at the eastern extremity by the three noble windows, altogether forming a spectacle unequalled, in our opinion, by anything that we have seen at home or abroad. Alas! that such architectural excellence should ever be sacrificed for a system of utilitarianism, opposed, so frequently, to every principle of taste." Little, prob-

¹ Adam Dawson, of Bonnytoun.



Interior of St Michael's Church, as restored in 1812-13.



ably, did Mr Dawson imagine that, within thirty years of the time when he wrote, the church would again be seen with all obstructions removed from end to end; and this time, it is believed, with no likelihood of its ever being galleried again.

The character of the church fitted up in 1812-13 may, to some extent, be inferred from the specification which has already been quoted. A wall divided the building at the pillar west of the transepts. This wall had a wide door in the middle of it, which admitted to a lobby, in which were stairs, right and left, to the galleries. From this lobby, doors on the ground flat and at the top of the stairs admitted through an inner plaster wall to the area and galleries of the church. The pulpit stood in front of the apse, and at first had a semi-circular stair, which led to a side door, in a style which was fashionable in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Latterly, a simpler stair was substituted, which conducted to a door in the back of the pulpit, and admitted the preacher in a quieter manner. Along the north and south aisles of the church were galleries, the fronts of which were almost in a line with the fronts of the pillars. There was also a west gallery opposite the pulpit, and immediately within the dividing plaster wall. The north transept was floored (though not till the year 1820, and as an afterthought) on a level with the back of the side gallery, and, being screened off by a wooden partition, served as a vestry. The south transept was not floored in this fashion, the back of the south gallery simply passing in front

of it, with a railing to prevent accidents. The galleries were supported by huge beams inserted into the pillars.

The church as thus restored was opened on the 19th of December 1813.

No sooner was this restoration completed than the question of seat-allocation began once more to occupy the attention of the heritors and Town Council. The Council, at the beginning of the movement, had offered the landward heritors 500 of the 1200 sittings to be erected, if they would undertake to pay five-twelfths of the cost of the restoration. But their offer not being accepted, they had to bear two-thirds of the cost, which they met by loans received from various persons; and now, as a natural consequence, they were anxious to obtain every inch which belonged to them. The first allocation was between the heritors and Town Council, and was made on the basis of the ancient agreement, by which the former were to have one-third, and the latter two-thirds. The Town Council got possession of the north gallery, the west gallery, and all the seats on the ground floor on the north side of the central passage, with the exception of the minister's pew. They obtained, also, several pews on the south side of the central passage. The south gallery, and the majority of pews on the ground floor, south of the central passage, were allocated to the landward heritors.

This first allocation was followed by other two. The landward heritors met and allocated their one-third among themselves, according to the value of



Interior of St. Michael's Church as restored in 1812-13.



their lands ; the Town Council met, and allocated a pew to the King—the Treasury having contributed a sum of £400 towards the restoration,¹—two pews to themselves as official seats, a considerable number to the guildry and the incorporations, and then advertised, by “beat of drum and otherwise,” a roup of the remainder. The first roup brought £1881, 2s., but as the town’s share of the restoration amounted to £2745, 3s. 1d., it was necessary to have another roup. Such pews as they failed to sell by this second effort, the Council continued to let from year to year, till a prolonged litigation with the North British Railway Company—then engaged in making their line of rail between Glasgow and Edinburgh—in which the burgh failed to make good its contention, rendered it bankrupt, when the unsold pews were included in the Council’s assets, and sold at whatever price they would bring. The Council had followed Mr Cathcart’s advice, and restored the church, not for the community, but on the *limited liability principle*, and it was probably fitting that, when the burgh became bankrupt, the pews should appear among the assets. But can the seats of a parish church be sold as the assets of a bankrupt burgh? That it was done in Linlithgow is a fact ; whether legally or not is a question which admits of debate.

During the progress of this restoration, the Town Council had an interesting dispute with certain of the

¹ As the money was devoted to reducing the account due against the landward heritors as well as that due against the Town Council, in the proportion of $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{2}{3}$, it is perhaps more accurate to say that the king’s pew was allocated by both parties.

landward heritors about the trees in the churchyard. These trees had been planted in the year 1679, and by the time the galleries erected by those who planted them were being removed, they had become large and wide-spreading. The magistrates, evidently, thought they would realise a good price, and, at their meeting on the 9th July 1813, resolved "to sell and dispose, by public roup, of the trees growing in the churchyard, on Friday the 29th instant." On learning of this decision, certain of the heritors sent to the magistrates a formal protest; but fearing that it might not be attended to, Mr Hunter, of Thurston, the tutors and curators of Mr Blair, of Avontoun, and Mr Louis Henry Ferrier, of Belsyde, applied to the Lord Ordinary for an interdict. The magistrates, as usual, were in good fighting form. They instructed the Provost to employ an agent, and, if it were necessary, to retain counsel also. At this stage, another claimant for the trees appeared on the scene. The agent who acted for the Rev. Dr Dobie wrote to the heritors and Council, informing them that it had been decided by the Supreme Court that trees in churchyards, when cut down, belong to the minister of the parish, lodging a claim for them in behalf of Dr Dobie, and requesting that the claim should be entered in the minutes of their meeting called to decide the propriety or impropriety of cutting down the said trees. The matter in dispute, when in "dependence against the Council" before the Lords of Session, was, by consent of parties, withdrawn, and submitted to Joshua Henry Mackenzie, Esq., advocate, as sole

arbiter. How it was decided does not appear; but the almost naked condition of the churchyard at the present time may be accepted as evidence that the trees, which had been planted by one set of restorers, fell by the axes of another.

A more serious litigation arose over the right of burial within St Catherine's aisle, claimed by Captain Hamilton, of Westport. Until this restoration in 1812-13, although both Church and State had long frowned on burials within churches, the Hamilton family had been allowed the right of interring their dead within St Catherine's aisle, undisputed. One reason for this probably was that, so long as the 1672 arrangement obtained, their burying in St Catherine's aisle, which was then outwith the portion of the fabric used for worship, was unobjectionable; but, now that the heritors and Council had furnished the chancel and included St Catherine's aisle (though unseated) within the portion of the church to be used, they were not prepared to concede the privilege any longer. They had, moreover, provided a cemetery on the north side of the church, the right of interring in which was given as a *quid pro quo* to those who had previously possessed the right of interring within the fabric. They were, therefore, anxious, and in fact formally resolved (19th February 1817), "to abandon the practice of burying within the church, and to resist all attempts to assert the right." It was not long before they had an opportunity of showing whether they meant to adhere to their resolution or not. Captain Hamilton, of Westport, raised an action before the Court of

Session, to have it declared that to bury within St Catherine's aisle was a right belonging from time immemorial to his family: the heritors and Council lodged defences, and the case was heard by Lord Pitmily, in November of 1813. His lordship sustained the defences and assoilzied the defenders. This was a fortunate decision for St Michael's Church; and Dr Seton, of Preston, who had specially interested himself in the litigation, was awarded the thanks of the heritors and Town Council for "the trouble he had taken in this business."¹

In the end of the year 1820, some anxiety was felt by the inhabitants of Linlithgow as to the condition of the tower of the church. The report that it was threatening to fall was current, and the Provost, at the request of the Council, put himself into immediate communication with the landward heritors on the subject. This resulted in a general meeting being held, and an examination of the tower by competent parties.

The heritors and Town Council were equally unwilling to remove the crown from the tower, as it was one of three ancient crowns in Scotland, and was the appropriate symbol, not only of the fact that Linlithgow was an ancient royal burgh, but also of the intimate intercourse which the burgh had enjoyed with the Scottish Sovereigns from remote times. Accordingly they instructed three different parties to advise them as to the state of the tower. First, they took the advice of a number of experienced tradesmen,²

¹ *Burgh Records.*

² Thomas Brown, William Niven, John Easton, and Robert Mickel.

who reported that they found "the spire to be altogether in a very dilapidated state, being much rent in many places . . . that two of the spire-arches which support the crown are in the worst possible condition, and in the most dangerous state, and cannot, to all appearance, stand for any length of time." Secondly, they took advice from H. Baird, Esq., civil engineer, who reported that he found that "the great weight of the top part has, by the arches pressing so heavily against the angles of the tower, rent it for a considerable way down. This," he declares, "has given the arches liberty to subside, and caused several fractures in them, and threatens the ruin of the whole spire." Thirdly, they took advice from Mr Burn, architect, Edinburgh, who reported that he "found the walls to be so much injured by the lateral pressure of the flying buttresses which support the crown, on top of the tower, that no time should be lost in either supporting this superstructure or removing it altogether. The flying buttress," he continues, "on the south-east angle, in particular, is in a most precarious situation, so much so, that if the pressure outwards was even to extend to a quarter or half an inch beyond what it now is, I have not the least doubt that the whole would fall to the ground."¹

All the three parties who had been consulted made recommendations as to the manner in which, in their opinion, the tower might be strengthened and the crown preserved. The tradesmen, "in consideration of the desire of the heritors that the crown should be

¹ *Burgh Records.*

kept up if at all possible," suggested "that the four angles should be bound together with iron diagonal girders in the most substantial manner possible, that all the angles be built up in the same manner as the north-west one is done already, and that upon the top of these buildings cast-iron arches be placed directly under the stone ones, and made to fit so as the whole may be made perfectly secure; or it is probable," the report continues, "when these angles are built up, that a less expensive mode may be adopted, namely, strong pieces of cast-iron inserted into large stones placed on these angles, and made to fit the arch-stones where the fractures have taken place in the arches, and these pieces of cast-iron bolted together strongly at the top, and having strong bands of iron fixed to them, put round the middle of the spring arch, so that the whole may be firmly bound together. Were this properly done," say they, "the dangerous state of the spire would be removed." Mr Baird, in his report, advised "that the tower be bound round with two sets of cast-iron binders, the one on the top of the cornice at the bottom of the parapet wall, and the other on the top of the parapet above the embrasures: the binders," his report says, "will keep the groins or springing of the arches together, and prevent further sinking of the crown, and I have not the least doubt will secure both the tower and the top part. And in case," he says, "after these binders are put on, it shall be judged necessary to give any further security and stability, it may be done by introducing an arch of



View of the Tower with Imperial Crown.



cast-iron under the arches and top, and supporting the same by small cast-iron pillars, passing down through the roof of the house and resting on the octagon angles of the tower." Mr Burn wrote, "As the season is now so far advanced, I should not advise any kind of repair to be attempted; it only appears to me necessary," he says, "to adopt proper measures for supporting the crown and flying buttresses, and by this means all risk will be avoided, and the Committee will have abundant time to consider both the propriety and the expense of reconstructing this edifice, according to the present design,¹ or of adopting such other plan as may be found more expedient."

Much regret is still frequently expressed by the inhabitants of Linlithgow over the loss of the imperial crown. No blame, however, need be attributed to the heritors. The documents show that they were exceedingly reluctant to remove it; but as the problem which the state of the tower presented to them could not be satisfactorily solved otherwise, they, after nearly a year's consideration, came to the conclusion that it was necessary to do so. Accordingly, in the summer of 1821, "to avoid the danger to the building," the crown was removed.

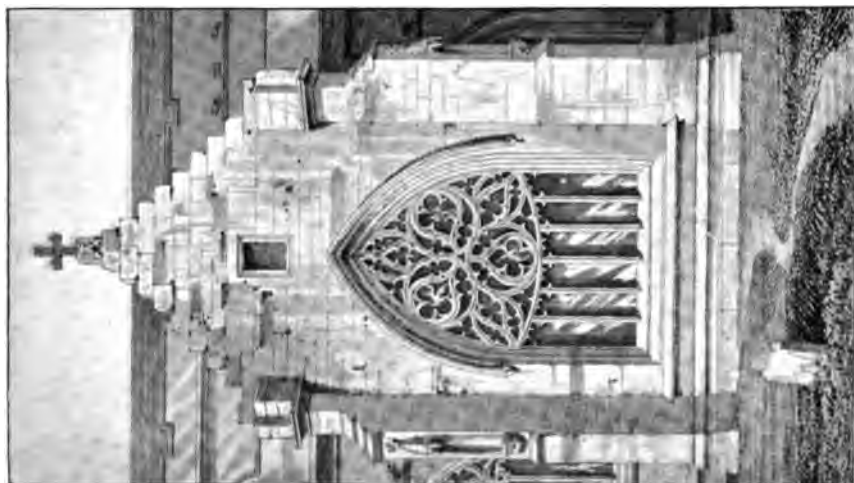
During the years 1844-45, the window of St Catherine's aisle—the finest specimen of Gothic tracery in Scotland—was completely restored. The movement, on this occasion, originated with Her Majesty's Master of Works, who addressed a letter to

¹ Mr Burn submitted a design.

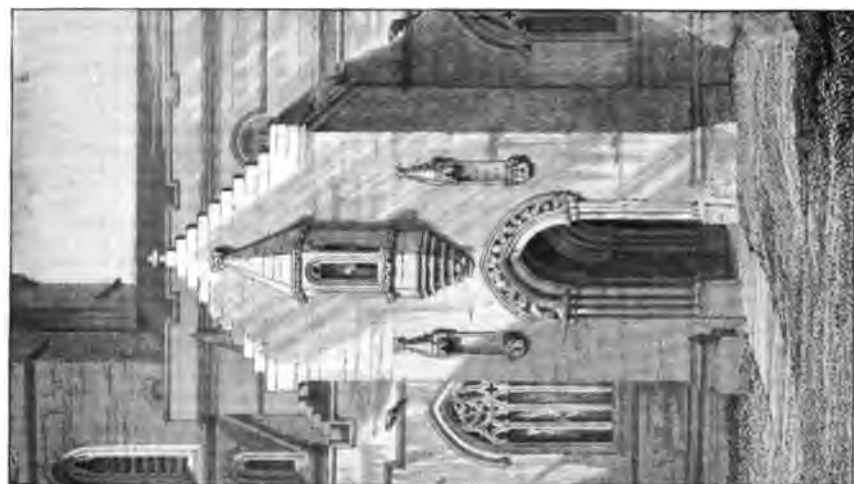
Lord Rosebery, in which he called his attention to the state of the window, and requested that steps should be taken to have it renewed. Lord Rosebery brought the matter before a *general meeting of the county*, which resulted in a special committee being appointed to co-operate with one from the Town Council, with the view of having the window improved or restored. This joint committee employed an Edinburgh architect¹ to give them a report, which he did on the 13th December 1844. They adopted the report, but as the repairs recommended were more than the heritors were legally liable for, they resolved to meet the expense partly by assessment and partly by voluntary contribution. After taking estimates, the work was entrusted to Mr John Landels, a well-known and much respected Linlithgow builder. Provost Dawson watched the progress of the work with a deep and constant attention, being particularly careful to see that the new was an exact *fac-simile* of the old. It is, therefore, peculiarly appropriate that this window, in the restoration of which Provost Adam Dawson took such a deep interest, should be filled with stained glass in memory of his son—the late John Ramage Dawson, Esq., of Balado, Kinross-shire.

In 1885, stained glass was placed in the central window of the apse in memory of Sir Wyville Thomson, of Bonside, Professor of Natural History in the University of Edinburgh—a tribute from his “friends and colleagues.”

¹ Mr T. Brown.



Window of St Katherine's Aisle.



South Porch.

CHAPTER IX

THE DEMON OF RESTORATION—1890-1905

"The man who turns the ancient reality of the twelfth century into a sham of the nineteenth, deserves no other fame than the fame which Eratostratus won at Ephesus, and which James Wyatt won in the chapter-house of Durham."—FREEMAN.

FOR several years, a few of the inhabitants of Linlithgow who were most interested in the church had talked of the possibility of removing the galleries, and restoring it to its original condition. At social gatherings, and in after-dinner speeches, it was not unusual to hear statements made as to the possibility of having the galleries removed, and the ancient temple opened up from end to end. But the speech-makers had, as a rule, very little expectation of ever seeing the restoration accomplished.

In the beginning of the year 1890, a meeting of the congregation was called to consider the question of restoring the church, and, if thought advisable, to appoint a committee to find the necessary funds. It was not without grave misgivings that some, who were deeply interested in the proposal, attended the

meeting ; for the question had been considered before, and always with the result of arousing a storm of opposition. But the restoration of St Giles' Cathedral in Edinburgh and of the Cathedral of Dunblane had exercised an educational influence, and the inevitable course of events had removed most of those who had opposed previous efforts, so that, to the satisfaction of all, and the surprise of some, the proposal was received with favour, and an influential committee appointed to find the funds, and to see the restoration carried through.¹

No demand could be made on the heritors or Town Council. The church, which as has been shown, was fitted with galleries in 1812-13, was everything that could be wished, so far as comfort and convenience were concerned ; and, except that it destroyed, by dividing, a beautiful Gothic fabric, was not unseemly. What the committee aimed at, was to restore to the church its ancient beauty, even if it should be accomplished at some loss of comfort and acoustic qualities. They were well aware that they would not be permitted to touch the edifice till they could show a bank account adequate to carry through the undertaking to which they set themselves. But the heritors, though giving nothing as heritors, were in all cases favourable to the movement, and before many months the committee had subscrip-

¹ From this committee there was appointed an acting committee, consisting of—Charles Chalmers, of Longcroft ; John Miller Richard, of Clarendon ; W. H. Henderson, of Nether Parkley ; William Gilkison, British Linen Bank House ; John Ferguson, Poldrait ; Alexander Turnbull, Hillside ; George Bain Allice, Elwinside ; and the minister of the parish (convener).

tions amounting to over £1100. The Baird Trust generously voted £2000, and a willing band of ladies set themselves to carry through a bazaar, which yielded something like £1700. Private donations were promised by several persons in addition to their subscriptions, and these, though not all foreseen at the time, ultimately added another £2000. There was also a legacy of £500 from the late John Urquhart, Esq., of Vellore, which, though subject to a life-rent, could be reckoned on as sure to fall due at no distant date. The committee, consequently, felt at liberty to approach the heritors and Town Council for permission to proceed with the restoration; and these bodies, after adequately safeguarding their interests, granted the permission desired. No notice was taken of the rights of seatholders, one or two of whom were threatening opposition. In 1894 the work of restoration was begun.

The first thing undertaken was the removal of the galleries and pews. The beams on which the galleries rested had been inserted into the pillars, in some cases meeting at the centre. To mend the pillars, and remove the many other blemishes and marks of vandalism, required the services of a skilled mason, and took a considerable time. Then, there was the whitewash to be removed from the nave, and a new vestry to be built. This was built on the foundations of the ancient sacristy—a door on the north wall of the chancel, long built up, giving the committee an indication where to find them. As this vestry required to be built in keeping with the architecture

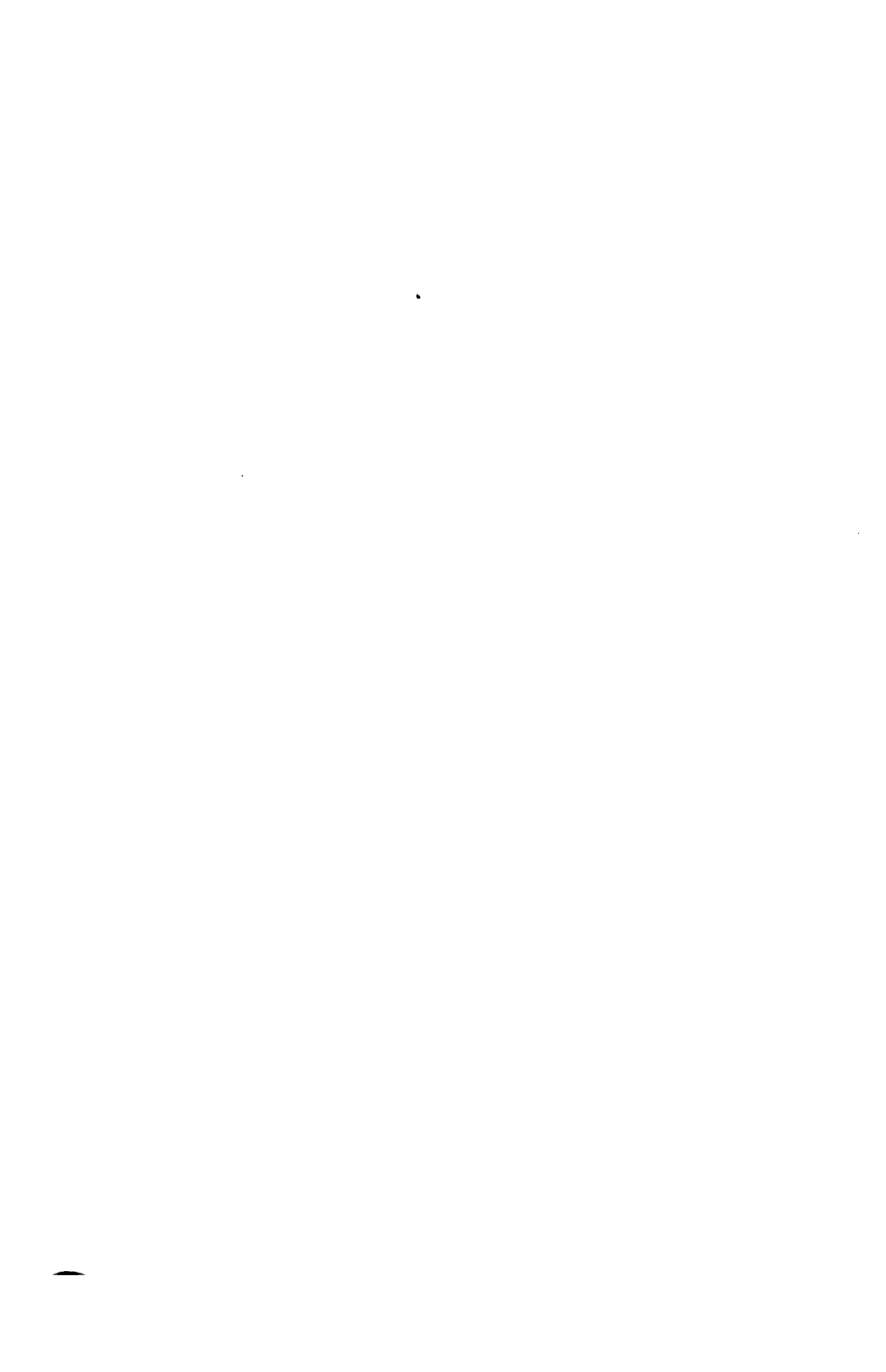
of the church, a sum of nearly £2000 was expended on it, which, though not excessive when the thickness of the walls is considered, was voted by many utilitarians, at the time, *a sheer waste of money*. The floor of the church had to be lifted, and laid at a lower level, so as to expose the bases of the pillars and restore the step between the nave and the chancel. In the course of the operations, it was discovered why the restorers of 1812-13 had removed the ancient arch between the nave and chancel. The arch, like some others elsewhere, had practically made two churches of the chancel and nave, and as the restorers of 1812-13 required a bay more than the chancel provided, and as the arch threatened to obstruct the view of the pulpit to the worshippers in the west gallery, it was voted to destruction, and an ornamental ribbon of plaster supplied to cover the wounds. A generous lady,¹ who from first to last proved herself a good friend of the movement, as she had always been a good friend of the church, volunteered to add to her subscription the sum necessary to restore the arch, and the work was at once put in hand. The arch built, however, is not a reproduction of the old one, though it is not inharmonious with the edifice of which it is now a prominent feature.

The mullions of some of the windows being in a dilapidated condition, the committee felt it necessary to include them in their scheme of restoration. The west window, the window on the north side of the tower, and the eastmost window in the south aisle

¹ The late Miss Jessie Bertram Baird.



Interior of St Michael's Church under Restoration in 1894.



of the nave were accordingly completely renewed. Several other windows might have been similarly treated with advantage, but the funds at the disposal of the committee did not permit.

In addition to the items above enumerated, the committee had, of course, to undertake the work of heating and reseating the church. The former was entrusted to Messrs MacKenzie & Moncur, of Edinburgh, the heat being supplied by a large boiler placed under the vestry, and conveyed by water-pipes to the various parts of the church. Personally the writer has always felt that it was a mistake not to take these heating-pipes along the triforium also, and to dispense with as much of the grating in the passages as possible; but, as he had considerable trouble to obtain a stone floor and to avoid fixed pews, he felt that it was necessary to yield to the feelings of the other members of the committee in some things. The nave and transepts have been seated with oak pews, all of which stand by their own weight, and can be moved to permit of the church being properly cleaned when necessary. They are not unseemly, though chairs, in the opinion of the writer, would have been preferable. The chancel has been supplied with seats which were retained when the old pews were sold, and which, it is hoped, will one day give place to suitable stalls. The Communion table, which was the gift of three benefactors, is the only permanent piece of furniture, except the large three-manual organ, in the chancel at present. The pulpit, between the chancel and nave, is a work of art, and was the gift

of the late John Miller Richard, of Clarendon. The baptismal font, placed near the south door, was the gift of the late William Gilkison, British Linen Bank House, Linlithgow. The lectern was the gift of Lord Linlithgow, the late Miss Baird, the late William Gilkison, and the minister.¹ It only remains to say that the Restoration Committee added a choir-organ to the instrument previously in use, and provided two water-engines to supply the necessary driving power.

In carrying out this restoration, the principle followed was to preserve every stone that retained anything of its original appearance, and to introduce new stones only where the old had become thoroughly shapeless or decayed. One of the pillars was so abused that the fabric above it had to be supported while it was undergoing restoration, but already the new has put on the aspect of age, and made it difficult to say which stone is old and which is new. This, to a great extent, is due to the fortunate fact that the rock from which the new stones were quarried, is the same as that from which the church was originally built.

Such is an account of the latest restoration which the church has undergone. One virtue is claimed for it, viz., that it has been carried out on proper lines, and will not present to future generations much to undo. Unfortunately it has one great defect. *It is*

¹ The pulpit and baptismal font are from designs by Mr John Honeyman, architect, Glasgow, under whose guidance the committee carried through the restoration.

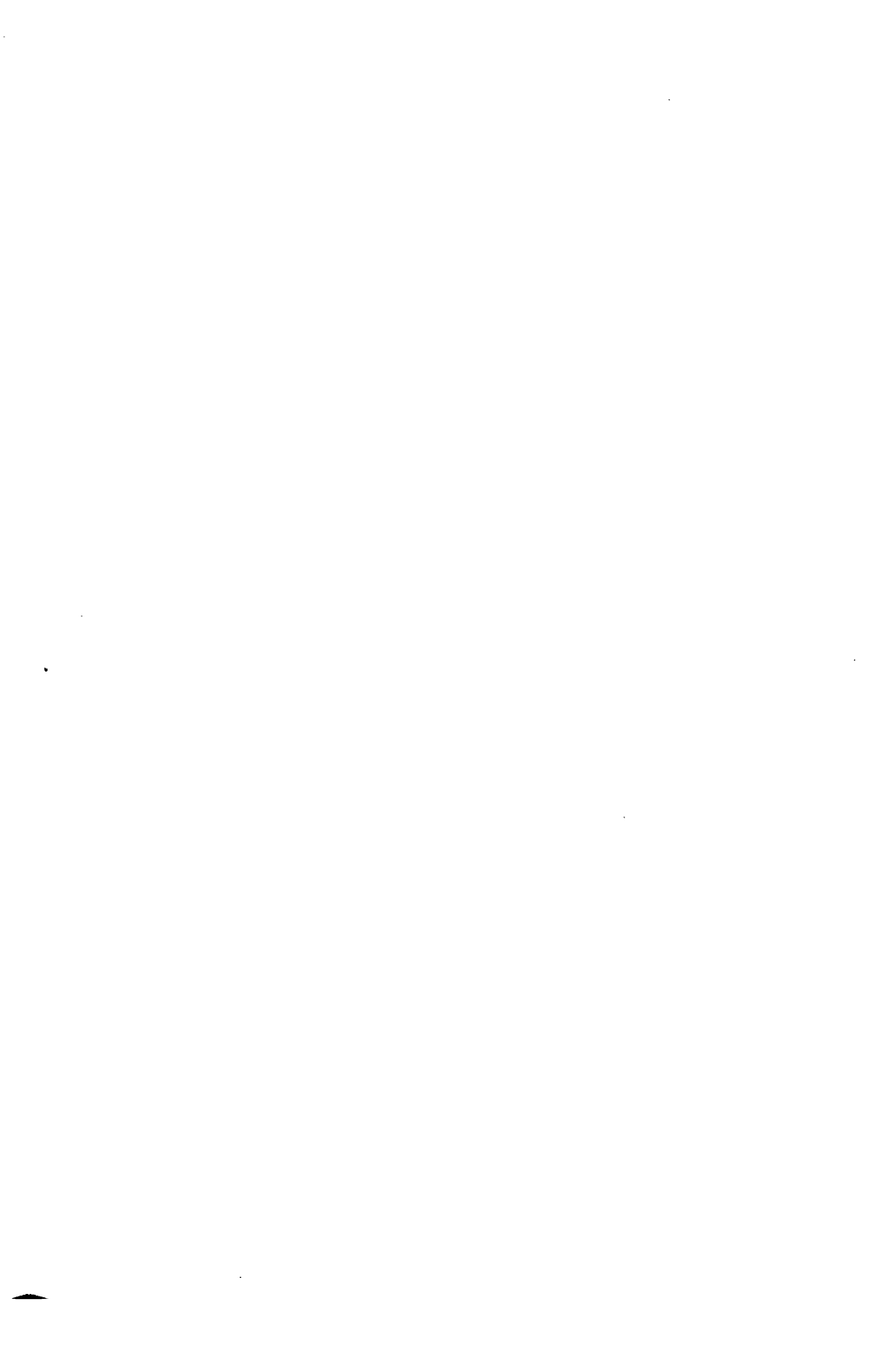


Interior of St. Michael's Church, as restored in 1894-96.





Interior of St Michael's Church, as restored in 1894-96.



incomplete. For, before the church can be regarded as completely restored, it is necessary that the present plaster ceiling, which, by being too low, dwarfs the clerestory, should be removed, and an oak ceiling such as the church originally had, erected in its place at the proper height. It is also desirable that the chancel should be provided with suitable stalls, and otherwise properly furnished. There are other things, too, less expensive than these, which call for attention. The smaller things may be accomplished during the lifetime of the present writer, but unless some generous benefactor appear from an unexpected quarter, he fears that he must leave to his successors, and to future generations, the task of completing the work which he has had the honour to begin. He bequeaths it to them with confidence, for he is satisfied that no minister, whatever may have been his early training, can preach for many years in St Michael's Church without wishing to see it restored to its original beauty.

The church, which was closed for restoration on the 6th May 1894, was formally reopened by the Very Rev. Donald M'Leod, D.D., of Park Parish, Glasgow, on the 24th October 1896.

Shortly after the restoration, Mrs Hunter, wife of Dr George Hunter, of Edinburgh, gifted a stained-glass window to the church. This window, which is the westmost in the south chancel aisle, is in memory of Mrs Hunter's father, the late Robert Riddoch Glen, for many years agent of the Commercial Bank in Linlithgow, and senior partner of

the firm of Messrs Glen & Henderson, solicitors. The subject of the window is the visit of the holy women to the sepulchre, and their interview with the angel of the Resurrection. The manufacturers were Messrs Cottier & Co., London.

The next window gifted is that which occupies the southern transept. It is the gift of the late Mrs Dawson, of Balado, and is in memory of her husband, John Ramage Dawson, of Balado, who pre-deceased her only a few years. The window seeks to give expression to the invitation of Jesus as embodied in the words, "Come unto Me" (Matthew xi. 28). The artists, in this case, had the finest flamboyant window in Scotland to work on, and it is to their credit that they have filled it in a style, and with glass, worthy of its elaborate tracery. It is, moreover, a fitting memorial, not only of the late John Ramage Dawson, of Balado, but also of his father, Adam Dawson, who, during his provostship of the burgh, took an active part in the renewal of the tracery of this window.¹ The artists were Messrs Clayton & Bell, London.

The window above the west door, which followed next in order, is the gift to the church of Walter Miller Richard, of Clarendon, and his sister, Mrs Ferguson, The Manse, Linlithgow. It was erected in memory of their father, the late John Miller Richard, who took an active interest in the restoration, and besides subscribing handsomely, gifted the beautiful pulpit to the church. He died in 1896, and

¹ Cf. Chap. viii., pp. 119-120.



The West Door, as restored in 1894-96.



the window was erected in 1898. The subject is the Transfiguration of Christ. The glass is deeply stained, and appears to greatest advantage when the sun having reached the west, by illuminating, reveals its wealth of colours. This window was supplied by Messrs Ballantyne & Gardiner, Edinburgh.

The eastmost window in the south aisle of the nave is the latest gift of this kind to the church. It is in memory of the late John Ferguson, of Poldrait, for many years burgh clerk of Linlithgow, and latterly sheriff-clerk of Linlithgowshire, and was erected by his widow, Mrs Ferguson-Turnbull. The window contains the figures of the four Evangelists. It is from a design by the late Sir Edward Burne-Jones, the manufacturers being Messrs Morris & Co., Surrey.

The little window in the north transept was erected by the author in memory of his daughter, Esther Struthers Ferguson, who died on the 2nd December 1888, aged nine years. This window was supplied by Messrs William Meikle & Son, Glasgow.

CHAPTER X

ANCIENT CHAPELS CONNECTED WITH ST MICHAEL'S CHURCH (LINLITHGOW)

"Ecclesiam de Linlithqw, cum capellis de Benyn, Auldcathy, et Ochiltre eidem annexis, cum minutis decimis earundem."—
From a charter by King James III.

It seems to have been the ambition of every considerable proprietor of land in the twelfth century to possess a chapel of his own, for the convenience of his family and dependents. The result was, that in Scotland then, and until the Reformation, parish churches were few, and chapels very numerous. "It sometimes happens," says John Major, the historian, writing on the eve of the Reformation, "that thirty villages, far distant from each other, have but one and the same parish church, so that a village may be separated from the parish church by four or five, sometimes by ten miles. In the neighbouring chapels of the lords, however, they may have a chance to hear Divine service, because even the meanest lord keeps one household chaplain, and more if his wealth and other provisions allow it."¹

¹ *Historia Majoris Britanniae tam Angliae quam Scotiae*, per Joannem Majorem, edit. 1740, pp. 20-21.

This multiplying of chapels in the twelfth century threatened the revenues of the mother-churches to such an extent, that episcopal authority was invoked in their behalf. The bishops were naturally careful to secure that the maintenance of the chapel should be an *additional* charge on the proprietor who desired it, and that the mother-church should sustain no loss, either in tithes or in such casual offerings as were customary in that age. Sometimes they stipulated, as a condition of granting the privilege, that the mother-church should receive a gift of as much land from the proprietor wishing the chapel as should secure her for all time in the value of her rights at the time of making the concession. Chapels, consequently, became not only a convenience to those who were distantly removed from, but a considerable source of revenue to, the mother-church.

The writer does not claim to have traced all the chapels connected with the mother-church of Linlithgow (St Michael's) in the twelfth century. It is possible that some of them had a very short lifetime, perishing with the extinction, or removal from the district, of the family by whom they were founded and supported, or with the transference of the lands from that family to another. Other chapels, evidently, possessed a sufficient endowment to have attained, or almost attained, an independent existence. But the few particulars which have been gleaned from many sources, when pieced together, will suffice to attest *the existence* of the following chapels, and may be of interest to some readers,

THE CHAPEL OF BENYN

This chapel received its name from the estate to which it belonged. It was situated at the south-east corner of the parish of Linlithgow, in a district which is now, for educational and parochial purposes, united to the parish of Ecclesmachan. The chapel was dedicated to St Giles. In a charter of the twelfth century, or the beginning of the thirteenth, William de Lindesay confirmed to the Church of St Egidii de Benyn half a carucate of land, which had been gifted to it by his ancestors.¹ It is said to have been erected into a separate parish at a later time, and to have continued such till the Reformation.² After the Reformation it was united to Linlithgow, and the building allowed to go to decay. The lands of the vicar of Benyn became the property of one Robert Bruce, who seems to have obtained them through his marriage with Catherine Hamilton of Kincavill, a relative of Patrick Hamilton, the martyr.³ In 1601, with the consent of Robert Bruce, the heir-apparent, and of Robert Hamilton of Ecclesmachan, and of James Hamilton of Kirkton-Kilbride, brothers of the foresaid Catherine, they were conveyed to Thomas Hamilton of Drumcarne. In 1637, Thomas, Earl of Haddington, who took from them the title of *Lord Binning*, was served heir to "the lordship and barony of Benyn, comprehending the lands of Braidlaw, Hangingside, or Middle-binning, and the ecclesiastical

¹ *Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree*, p. 180.

² Chalmers's *Caledonia*, edit. 1810, vol. ii., p. 877.

³ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. v., No. 1252.

lands of Benyn, called vicar's lands, extending to forty acres arable."¹ The living attached to the church was very small, probably only the rent of the forty acres, with the usual casualties. In the *taxatio antiqua* it is cessed at only ten merks, and in the charter conveying the lands to Hamilton of Drumcarne, the reddendo for the vicar's lands is only four merks, with a duplicand on the entry of each heir.

THE CHAPEL OF AULDCATHIE

The estate of Auldcathie is nearly equidistant from the ancient churches of Linlithgow and Abercorn, but several miles distant from each. There has been preserved an excerpt from the great register of the Priory of St Andrews, unfortunately lost, which speaks of a charter being granted about the year 1198, by Prior William to one William Gifford and his heirs, of the Chapel of Auldcathie, the reddendo to be paid to the Church of Linlithgow being half a merk and sixteen pence. In the *taxatio antiqua* the Chapel of Auldcathie is cessed at four merks. In 1335-36 the ecclesiastical lands of Auldcathie were forfeited to the king by the rebellion of the rector of that time.² In 1474 the king confirmed a charter to James, Lord Hamilton, and Mary Seneschall, his wife, who was the king's sister, in which was granted, along with certain lands which are enumerated, the patronage of the churches of Cambuslang, Carmunnock, and Auldcathie.³ In

¹ *Inquis. Retor. Abbreviatio.*, i. 135.

² Bain's *Calendar of Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland*, pp. 340-389.

³ *Registrum Magni Sigilli.*

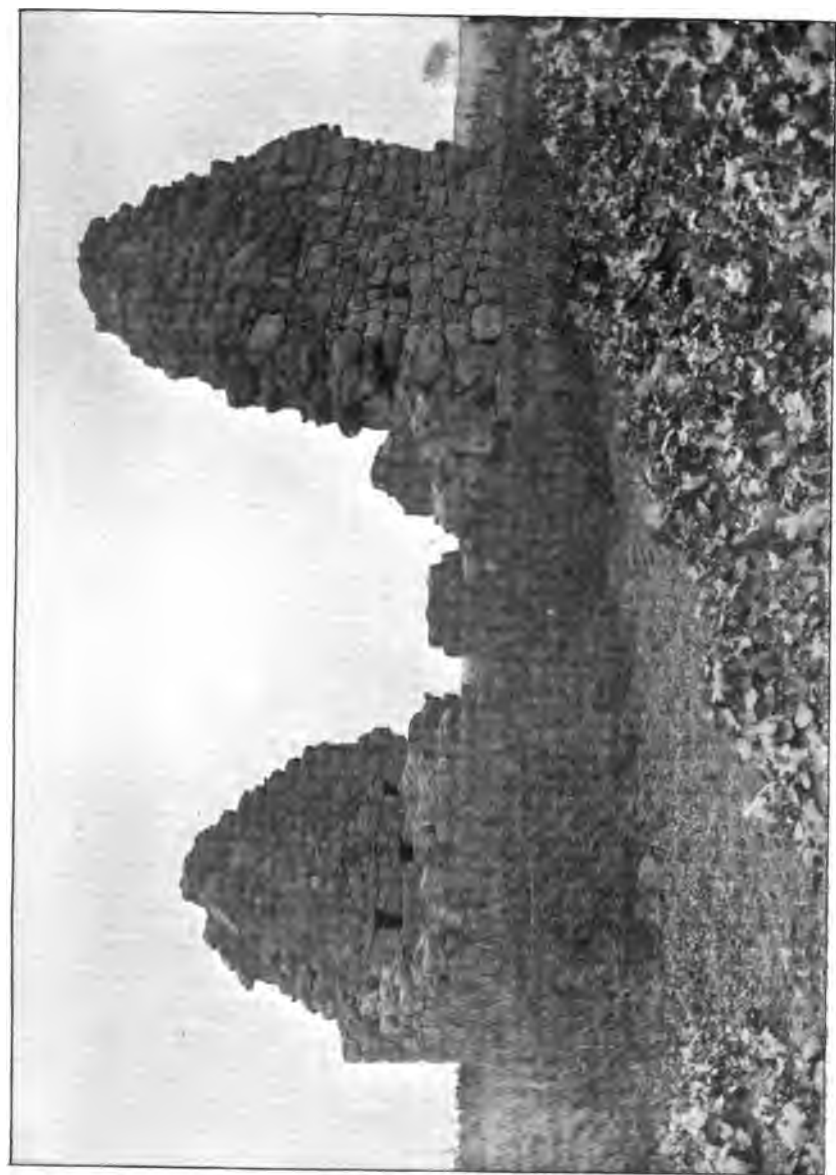
1567 the Reformed Church, in making provision for the spiritual wants of the country by the appointment of ministers and readers to the various parishes, came to the finding, "Aldcaithy needis na reidare."¹ In 1611, Mr John Gibbieson, minister of Dalmeny, reported to the Presbytery of Linlithgow, "that he had obtained ane gift of the presentation of the parsonage and vicarage of Auldcathie, and craved the consent of the Presbytery thereto, and made ane offer to the Presbytery that giff the kirk of Auldcathie can be otherwise provided, he will demit his presentation. Secondly, giff Mr David Guidlett² can obtain My Lord Advocate's favour and new presentation, and the Presbytery consent to his having that benefice, he shall also demit it to him. Whereupon the Presbytery approved and ratified, and ordains ane letter to be direct to the Bishop of St Andrews in his special favours to give him all further securities of that benefice."³ On the 21st of January 1618, the lands of Auldcathie were united by a Parliamentary Commission to the parish of Dalmeny, of which they have formed a detached portion ever since. In 1645 the lands of Auldcathie and the patronage of the chapel belonged to the Earl of Haddington.⁴ In 1775, on the occasion of a vacancy in the parish of Dalmeny, when the patron, Lord Rosebery, presented Mr Thomas Robertson to the living, Lord Hopetoun entered a protest on the ground that, as proprietor of

¹ *Register of Ministers, Exhorters, and Readers, and their Stipend, after the Period of the Reformation* (Maitland Club).

² Guidlett was minister of Ecclesmachan.

³ *Presbytery Records*.

⁴ *Inquis Retor. Abbreviatio*, vol. i., Linlithgowshire, No. 155.



The Ruins of Auldathie Chapel.



the estate of Auldcathie and patron of the church belonging thereto, which had been united to Dalmeny, he had the right to appoint a minister to the united parishes, *per vices*. As, however, his lordship did not oppose the settlement of Mr Robertson, the Earl of Rosebery's presentee, nothing came of the protest beyond a statement to the Presbytery by the agents of both noblemen, as to their respective rights. From that time the Earls of Rosebery exercised the rights of patrons of Dalmeny till the Act abolishing patronage was passed in 1874.

Recently a portion of the lands of Auldcathie has been united for educational and parochial purposes to the parish of Ecclesmachan, and the remaining portion united ecclesiastically to the *quoad sacra* parish of Winchburgh.

OCHILTREE CHAPEL

Unlike the chapels of Benyn and Auldcathie, the foundations of which may still be traced, the Chapel of Ochiltree has so completely disappeared that not even its site is known. But from an ancient deed it may be learned that there was such a chapel, and that it was endowed by its founder, Alexander, son of William, of Ochiltree, with "two oxgangs of land in my farm of Ochiltree; to wit, one on the east part of my farm, and another on the west part, and a toft on the east side of the same farm, freely, quietly, and honourably, of me and my heirs [free] from every exaction, custom, and secular service."¹

¹ *Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree*, p. 321.

From an agreement made in 1290, five years after the original gift, further information regarding this chapel of Ochiltree is obtained. The agreement says: "The same Alexander of Ochiltree, with permission of the Church of Linlithgow, shall have a chapel and chaplaincy on his own estate at Ochiltree, for his use and that of his family and guests, with reservation of the right of the mother-church in tithes, offerings, and boundaries, and all else pertaining to the church. Also, whoever shall serve in the chapel shall be chosen and installed by the church, and the same Alexander shall find the necessaries for him, at his own cost, in food and clothing and the payment of labour, so that the church shall want for nothing; and when the chapel is instituted, the said Alexander shall swear faithfully to the Church of Linlithgow that the church shall suffer no loss through him in tithes, boundaries, nor in offerings." And to satisfy the Church of Linlithgow, the said Alexander gives to it "two oxgangs of land in his farm of Ochiltree for a perpetual gift, and a toft in the same place, and a tithe of his mill, all of which he testifies and confirms by his deed: which lands the said Alexander shall hold in his lifetime from the said church, giving annually to it forty shillings. After his decease the land shall remain the perpetual possession of the church, freely and quietly, without any service or common customs from himself or his heirs."¹

¹ *Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree*, p. 321.

TARTRAVEN CHAPEL

There is mention made in various documents of a chapel at Tartraven, which was connected with Linlithgow Church. Usually it is spelt in papal bulls *Retrevyn*, and on at least one occasion *Detrevyn*: but these, as the context of the said bulls shows, are simply clerical errors on the part of the Papal Secretary which, considering that he was dealing with a place-name in a foreign language, can easily be understood. The chapel at Tartraven was dedicated to St Leonard. It is mentioned in a deed by Bishop David de Bernham of St Andrews, of date 1246, dealing with the revenues of the Church of Linlithgow, and its chapels of Benyn and Retrevyn.¹ It is also mentioned in a charter by Gregory de Malevill, of date 1264, in which he confers on the monks of Newbattle the right to drive their cattle and wagons from their monastery on the banks of the Esk to their extensive possessions in the valley of the Clyde, still known as the Monklands. The monks, the charter continues, "are not only to have the right to pass through the lands of Retrevyn, but also the right of unyoking their animals, and grazing them over the night on the common pasturage, corn and hay fields being excepted." The grant is made on condition that the monks will give to the proprietor of Tartraven annually *a new cart* of the kind used by them in doing their work on their lands in the valley of the Clyde, and filled with timber or

¹ *Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree*, p. 169.

building material. This charter is confirmed in 1349, by John de Malevill, who stipulates for a reddendo of a merk from the lands of Ballormy.¹

In another charter, the same Gregory de Malevill, who thus favoured the monks of Newbattle, confirmed to the chapel of the blessed Leonard of Retrevyn, for the souls of the three late illustrious kings, David, William, and Alexander, and for the well-being of the souls of certain relatives who are named in the deed, "that half carucate of land which Richard, my grandfather, gave to the said chapel, and two merks and a half which I have given in perpetuity, from my rents of Lochbernard. This charter is signed, among others, by Dominus G. miseratione divino tunc Episcopatus Sancti Andree; Dominus J. tunc vicarius de Linlithcu; and by Dominus A. capellanus tunc Retrevyn."²

TORPHICHEN CHAPEL

In the reign of William the Lion, about the year 1168, an agreement was made between the Church of Linlithgow and the Chapel of Torphichen, which shows that the latter acknowledged the former as her mother-church. As the agreement serves to illustrate the nature of the "other rights" belonging to Linlithgow Church which are so frequently referred to in royal charters and papal bulls, it may be well to quote a small section of it. "Know," says the agreement, "that the Chapel of Torphichen shall have a

¹ *Registrum Sancte Marie de Neubottle*, pp. 161-163.

² *Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree*, p. 377.

cemetery for the burying of the inhabitants of Torphichen, and shall receive all due tithes of the same, and the whole rights free and quiet from the mother-church of Linlithgow, excepting that each year on the vigil of Pasche, the Chapel of Torphichen shall pay a silver merk to the Church of Linlithgow, from which also on the same day it shall receive a chrism as from the mother-church.”¹

ST NINIAN'S CHAPEL, LINLITHGOW

This chapel was situated near the West Port of the burgh of Linlithgow. No document dealing with it is in existence, so it is impossible to ascertain either the date of its foundation or the extent of its endowments. Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*, says that it existed “in ancient times,” but condescends on no evidence. The earliest reference to it belongs to the time of Edward I., and one of the latest to the year 1507, when King James IV. worshipped within it, and gave a donation of thirteen shillings to the priest.

ST MARY'S CHAPEL AT THE EAST PORT

There was a chapel dedicated to St Mary, with an alms-house attached to it, at the East Port of the burgh of Linlithgow, in what was known as *the Middleraw*. This chapel was founded by Henry de Livingstoun of Myddilbennyng in 1496.²

¹ *Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree*, p. 319.

² For particulars, see Appendix I., pp. 328-9.

CHAPTER XI

CHANTRIES AND CHANTRY PRIESTS

“Ye maun ken the great ancient families canna be just served with the ordinary saunts (praise be to them) like St Anthony, St Cuthbert, and the like, that come and gang at every sinner's bidding, but they hae a sort o' saunts or angels, or what not to themselves.”—SCOTT.

A CHANTRY is an altar, or small chapel, used exclusively for the purpose of celebrating masses for the dead. It was customary in Scotland before the Reformation, as it is in Roman Catholic countries at the present time, to divide the aisles of the larger parish churches by wooden or stone partitions, and thus to form each bay into a chantry. St Michael's Church, Linlithgow, must have been divided in this way; and when so divided it would provide accommodation in the aisles of its chancel and nave, for sixteen chantries, and it is possible that an additional one, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, may have occupied the apse and the space behind the high altar, and thus served as a *Lady Chapel*.

The existence of such chantries in a Roman Catholic cathedral or church may be easily under-

stood. Given an age in which men believe in an intermediate state called Purgatory to which souls at death are consigned; and given, too, the belief that the condition of departed souls can be improved, and their deliverance from suffering hastened, by the efficacy of masses and prayers, then it may easily be perceived that religion and affection will combine to make some special provision for having such masses said. These chantries or chaplainries, would also gratify a desire which is deeply seated in human nature—the desire, to wit, to be remembered after death. And, considering how much is often expended in our own age, in erecting expensive monuments over the graves of relatives, it need occasion no surprise that our ancestors, who believed in an intermediate state for the Christian dead, should have willingly burdened their property to the extent of a few shillings annually, that a service which was believed to confer important spiritual benefits upon the departed, and which, besides, was an excellent memorial of them, might be celebrated in their behalf.

The celebration of these private masses was forbidden by the magistrates of Linlithgow, who exercised considerable control over the conduct of the chantry priests, during the time at which the vicar celebrated mass at the high altar.¹ Then the chantry priest, if he could sing, was enjoined to be in the choir in full canonical vestments to discharge the duties of a chorister; and even if he could not sing, he was

¹ *Liber curiæ capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

enjoined to be *there* all the same, that he might support the dignity of the service.¹ At all other hours of the forenoon, persons entering the church would be sure to find one or more of the chantry priests celebrating mass. Each service always brought together a few families, more or less closely related to the deceased whose anniversary it commemorated. Sometimes the founder of an obit, in addition to providing for his annual, or biennial requiem mass, had bequeathed a little sum to be given to the poor on the occasion—a provision, it may be presumed, which would be effectual in securing their attendance.

The church-officer, when an obit was about to be celebrated, perambulated the burgh, and, by means of a hand-bell, attracted the attention of the burgesses, that he might announce to them the obit, and the altar at which it was to be celebrated, and invite their attendance. The bells of the church were rung ere the celebration began. The relatives assembled to do honour to the deceased; the pious to join in a religious service which was dear to them at all times; the poor to receive the testator's charity—all, it is Christian to believe, sincerely to pray for the repose of his soul. Occasionally, the terms of a bequest stipulated that the portion of the deceased person's will, bearing on the establishment of the obit, should be read as a preliminary to the mass. A method very frequently adopted by testators was to bequeath such a sum as should yield eightpence to each of the chaplains of a certain number of altars,

¹ *Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

with an additional sixpence to the chaplain at whose altar the mass was to be said for preparing the altar and for the lights, and twopence to the beadle for ringing the bell through the burgh.¹ Thus by providing an annual endowment of twenty shillings, one could secure two commemorations yearly, with all the spiritual benefits which were believed to accrue therefrom.

It is impossible now to ascertain the positions within St Michael's Church of the numerous altars which occupied its aisles. The south transept, popularly known as St Catherine's aisle, was, doubtless, the site of the altar of St Catherine; that of the Blessed Virgin may have been in the apse, behind the high altar; but where the others were situated no documents exist to show, and even tradition is silent. The "Lords of the Congregation," and the generation which assisted them in their work of *cleansing* the Church had such contempt for what to them were the instruments of superstition and idolatry, that they had no desire to acquaint posterity with the manner in which the idolaters had arranged the furniture of their churches.

To illustrate the sources whence, and the extent to which these chantries were endowed, it may be useful here to give a free translation of two charters dealing with two of the altars in St Michael's Church. On the 5th of July 1491, James IV. confirmed a charter of Patrick Young, precentor of the Cathedral Church of Dunkeld, by which, with the consent of his brother, the late Mr John Young, provost of the Collegiate

¹ See list of Obits given in the Appendix, pp. 336-348.

Church of Methven, for the welfare of the soul of the late Patrick Young, Dean of Dunkeld, he conceded to a chaplain—that mass might be celebrated for ever in the parish church of the Blessed St Michael the Archangel, in the burgh of Linlithgow, at the altar of St John the Baptist in the said church—the under-written rents in the burgh of Linlithgow and its neighbourhood: viz., six and eight pence from the lands of Alexander Bennet, on the south side of the High Street; ten shillings from the tenement of Robert Dalrymple, on the south side of the High Street; forty shillings from the east tenement of the late D. Patrick Young, precentor of Dunkeld, on the south side of the High Street; forty shillings from his west and principal tenement on the south side of the High Street; six shillings and eight pence from the tenement of George Hamilton, on the south side of the High Street; two shillings from the west tenement of Thomas Cavers, on the south side of the High Street; four shillings and sixpence from the tenement of Christian Hathway, on the north side of the High Street; six shillings and sixpence from the tenement of Laurence Litstar, on the north side of the High Street; thirteen shillings and four pence from the tenement of the late Patrick Harkas, and of Dominus Halkhed, and Thomas Spens, on the east of the market-place of the said burgh; six shillings from the tenement of the late John Palmer, and then John Galbraith, on the east of the market-place; five shillings from the tenement of the late Adam Cunynghame, on the north side of the High Street; four shillings

and six pence from the tenement of Edward Broun, on the north side of the High Street; nine shillings from an acre of arable land above the cross of St Mary Magdalene; four shillings and sixpence from half an acre of arable land in Magdaleneside; two shillings and three pence from a perticate in the same place; two shillings and three pence from another perticate of the same lands; four shillings and six pence from half an acre of arable land in Magdaleneside; nine shillings from an acre of arable land on the west of St Michael's Wynd; eight shillings and sixpence from an acre of land called St John's acre; along with a room in his principal tenement suitable for the said chaplain to be assigned *per se*—the said gifts to be held in pure charity. The donor stipulated, moreover, that the said chaplain should maintain in oil the lamp of St John hanging before the said altar, according to the ancient custom and endowment of the lamp.

Again, on the 2nd February 1503, King James IV. granted to Archibald Crawford, Robert Foulis, Gavin Wilson, John Caine, James Nichol, Archibald Douglas, Patrick Kay, John Liston, James Parray, John Hoppringill, John Scott, and John Kincaid, burgesses of Linlithgow, and to Mariot Weir, heiress, and also to the underwritten chaplains and their successors, viz., to D. Thomas Bartholomew, of the altar of St Brigide; to D. Peter Hill, of the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary; to D. Andrew Logan, of the altar of St Katherine, within the parish church of the burgh of Linlithgow, mortified by the king's pre-

decessors ; and also to D. Patrick Crawford, chaplain of the chapel of the B.V.M. at the east end of the said burgh, mortified by the king—the lands of Magdaleneside, containing six arable acres, adjoining the lands of the late Norman Young, in excambion for a piece of six arable acres adjoining the Hospitium of D. James Erkill, chaplain, which the said persons resigned, to be held by the said burgesses and by Mariot Weir in free burgage, and by the said chaplains in charity, the annual rents from the said burgesses and from Mariot Weir to the king a silver penny, and from the said chaplains the aid of their prayers for the king and his successors.

It must not, however, be supposed that such permanent endowments formed the entire living of the priest of the altar to which they were attached. For every person who would make such permanent provision, there would doubtless be scores who would trust to the generosity of their relatives to provide a requiem mass for them. Thus each altar would have a very considerable incidental revenue. As an illustration of this incidental revenue, it may be recorded that in the first year of the reign of King James IV. there was paid by the king for an obit and a priest to sing for the late Queen's soul, £13, 13s. In 1497 the priest who sang the Queen's obit had £5, 4s. 8d. Such payments are frequently recorded in the Treasurer's Accounts, and may be accepted as examples of what every Christian would endeavour to secure for a departed relative, though, probably, at a cheaper rate.

•

Each of the altars in Linlithgow Church had a priest attached to it, who lived on the little mortifications with which his altar was endowed and the casualties which it brought him. It must not, however, be taken for granted that the priests were quite as numerous as the altars. It was an age when pluralism was rife in the Church. Sir Thomas Johnstone, for example, besides having an altar in Linlithgow Church, was the priest of the Chapel of St Ninian at Blackness. He was also the clerk to the *Head Court* of Linlithgow Burgh. Then, it must be remembered that, in those days, an altar oftentimes served for more saints than one. It was an easy matter to remove the image of St Sithe, and place on the altar that of St Duthac, if, perchance, King James IV. were resident in the Palace, and wished a mass said to his favourite saint.

The endowments of these altars did not as a general rule exceed ten or twelve pounds per annum. The priest attached to the altar of the Holy Cross had £5, 18s. per annum; his brother of the altar of St John the Baptist was a little richer, having something like £9 per annum.

The altar was regarded as the home of the priest attached to it; and, not infrequently, he lived in a room above it. The room above the south transept of St Michael's Church affords a very good example of a chantry priest's residence, and very probably was the home of the chaplain of the altar of St Catherine. Occasionally, a thoughtful testator included in his legacy *a camera* or room, in one of his

tenements, for the use of the priest attached to the altar at which he desired his anniversary to be celebrated. As an example of this, it may be mentioned that Patrick Young, precentor in Dunkeld, assigned and conceded a room of his principal tenement in Linlithgow, to the priest serving the altar of St John the Baptist in the parish church of the said burgh. As a rule, however, the chantry priests occupied houses in close proximity to the church. In fact, it was almost necessary that they should do so. Each ringing of the church bells summoned one or more of them to celebrate Mass; and as the church bells were rung frequently, especially in the forenoon, there was scarcely an hour before mid-day at which some of the priests were not engaged in celebrating Mass.

The chantry priest belonged to the lowest grade of the Roman clergy. He was usually honoured with the title of Sir, frequently spelt Schir, for which title the Reformers adopted Mr, and our own age has substituted *Reverend*. He wore a long cassock of coarse cloth, with a leathern girdle about his loins, and fared, as, indeed, did most of the Scottish people at that time, on oatmeal porridge. He did not despise, however, when he could get it, a good tankard of home-brewed ale. The figures on the cross-well of Linlithgow are alleged to be caricatures of the chantry priests; and several old natives have informed the writer that on the original well their reputed weaknesses were much more offensively displayed than they are on the present one,

which is a restoration, but in that respect, not a reproduction of the original. Vowed to celibacy, they frequently kept a concubine, a condition of matters which the laity, who had never taken kindly to the Papal law of enforced celibacy, were prepared to tolerate if only the priests would keep within certain recognised limits.¹

It is alleged by some writers that the chantry priest was a man of little education. And, compared with the higher clergy, such in all likelihood was the case. So far, however, as the writer has found any evidence on the subject, that evidence leads rather to an opposite conclusion. He has found the chantry priest ekeing out his small living by making wills, by acting as the burgh clerk, and, in short, attending at once to the spiritual and temporal welfare of the burgesses. The chantry priest who wrote the minutes of the *Curia capitalis* of the burgh of Linlithgow, wrote them in Latin: a feat which should command some respect from all those who would feel themselves awkwardly situated if they were required to do the same. Sir David Smith, who was a chantry priest, rose to be the vicar of Linlithgow, an office which was sufficiently remunerative in those days to have been usually filled by men of good family and of considerable intellectual promise.

The failings of the chantry priests, even if all that Sir David Lindsay says of them be true, were

¹ See chaplain's *Band*, p. 151; and also, *Liber S. Katerine Senensis* (Preface), p. xviii.

of that peculiar type which, both among Protestants and Catholics, can exist side by side with a sincere faith in, and attachment to, religion. The frequency with which the clergy of those days bequeathed their earthly savings to religion, ought at least to free them from the accusation of not believing in the efficacy of those masses which they celebrated.

One can scarcely imagine in our times, when the Protestant clergy of all denominations, in name of *spiritual independence*, disown all masters except themselves, the extent to which the ancient chantry priests were under the control and supervision of the laity. The magistrates and Town Council acted as patrons of the altars ;¹ entered, by means of a *band*, into a formal contract or agreement with the priests on the occasion of their being appointed to an altar ; fixed, as has been stated previously, the hours at which they were to perform masses ; summoned them to appear before them to explain their conduct when they were displeased with them ; and, in fact, reserved for themselves the right of dismissing them if they saw occasion. Therefore, if the chantry priests became neglectful of their duties, or immoral, it was not because their good behaviour was not sufficiently safeguarded. The following band—that, namely, which the magistrates and Town Council required the chantry priests to subscribe, on the occasion of their appointment to an altar—besides being a curious document, shows what the laity expected from the

¹ With a few exceptions, *e.g.*, the altars of St Sithe, St John the Evangelist, and All Saints. See Appendix I., pp. 312, 319, and 322.

chantry priests, and what means they employed to secure it. "Til al and sundrie quhais knowlege thir present letters sal to cum. Yhour university sal know me to be oblist and be thir present letteris, in the faith of my body, leleli and treuli obliss me til honorable and worshipful men, ye baileyheis and communitie of the burgh of Linlithqw for thair suppli and favoure done to me thankfulli, that I sal be lele and treu to tham, obedient and inclinand to thare ordinance in all leffal things, and honest tuiching the service of God and Haly Kirk, in manere as eftir followis: In the first, I obliss me to do Divine service at the alter of Corpus Christi, foundit in the paroche kirk of Linlithqw, be a reverend man of worthie memore umquhilis Maister William de Foulis, archdene of Sanct Andrewis, eftir the tenor of his charter of fundation made thairupon, as I will ansere in that actione before the highest judge. Als, I obliss me, that I sal mak ministracion at my cunning and knowlege in the paroche kirk, and in the Quere of the said burghe in divine servis sic as afore usit daili and continuall in matutine, mess, evynsang, llady mes salve, and procesione, gif the said baleyheis and counsall thinkis expedient that continuale service be made, and othirquhiles on festival dayes and Haly Dayes as the case requir. And attour, I obliss me, that I sal kepe and conserve all the graith and reparacione of the said altere, bukis, chalice, chesabill, albis, towallis, and the apparaling of thaim to the profit of the said altare. And at I sal not sell, wedset, nor anale ony pairt of the graith of the said

altare, for na mistere may happyn me in ony tyme to cum, and gif I do the contrare in ony thing I renunce my said service, to be quit thereof in all tymes to cum. Alsa, I obliss me, be thir presents that I sal govern my person in honeste and be of honest conversation in mete and drink, lying and rising, and at I sal not use unreasonable excess, nor continual concubine. And gif me happyne to do the contrare, I sal, at the ordinance and consale of the said baileyheis and communitie desist and amend, under payne of deprivacion fra my said service; and in tymes to cum I sal leyr diligentli to rede and sing in augmentation to Goddis service and for pleasance of the said baileyheis and communitie. And till all thir thingis before writin lelei and treuli to be kept in manere and fourme, the haly evangell twichit, I have gevyn a bodily aith in presence of the baleyheis and communitie of the said burgh. And for the mare sikernes, I have fundyn thir worthi persons borrowis and pleges for me, that the said condicione sal be kept. That is to say, Henry of Livingstone of Middlebenny, Walter of Hamilton, William of Saltone, Thomas of Cavers, William Brone, my fadyr, and John Brone, my brodir. In witnes of the quhilk thing the said persons in takenyng of there borrowyng has set to thare selis the xxiii day of the moneth of Februare, the yhere of our Lord 1^m foure hundir fifti and fyve yheres."¹ (Six seals attached.)

Poor chantry priests! The Reformers made havoc

¹ From a document in the Burgh Charter Chest, quoted by Waldie in his *History of Linlithgow*, pp. 55-56.

of their altars and images, discredited their saints, and poured contempt on the efficacy of their prayers. If they had sufficient education, and cared to do so, they might become ministers or readers in the Reformed Church; but if unable, or unwilling to do this, they had either to leave the country, take to some secular occupation, or receive the "almes of the kirk with the number of the Poore."¹ In the meantime, the magistrates and Town Council exerted themselves to get possession of the endowments of the altars; and in 1591 they obtained a charter from King James VI., in which he conferred on the community of Linlithgow the endowments of all the alterages and chaplainries within the burgh for the maintenance of a reader at the kirk, and of the poor of the hospital. This charter was confirmed by Charles I. in 1641, in a ratification of the previous charters in favour of the burgh, made by his predecessors. The gift included "all and sindrie landis, tenementes, houss, fruits, rentes, emolumentes, and dewties whatsomevir off all alterages, chaiplanries, and prebendaries, doted and foundit be whatsomevir persones asweel within the said burghe as without the samene, wher ever the samene ly within this realme. And specialle the annual rents and dewties quhatsoever dottit and foundit to the altarages eftir specified within the paroche kirk of Linlithgow; viz., ane annuelrent or light duetie of Saint Michael, ane annuelrent of the Alter of the holy croce, ane annuelrent of the Alter of the Blessed virgine Marie, ane

¹ *Books of the Kirk of Scotland*, edition 1839, p. 3.

annuelrent of the Alter of saint John the Baptist, ane annuelrent of the first Alter foundit be wmquhill Robert Beiges in honour of the Blissed virgine Marie, ane annuelrent of the second Alter of Saint Anna foundit be the said wmquhill Robert, the annuelrent of the said Alter of saint bryd foundit be the said wmquhill Robert, ane annuelrent of the Alter of all Saints, ane annuelrent of the Alter of Saint catherine, ane annuelrent of the Alter of Saint Peeter, ane annuelrent of the Alter of Saint androw, ane annuelrent of the alter of the body of christ, ane annuelrent of the alter of Saint Niniane, ane annuelrent of the alter of the holie trinitie, and all other alterages, chaiplanries, or prebendries quhatsomevir, alsweel within the said burghe as without the same, dottit and foundit with full power to the saidis Proveest, baillies, counsell, and communitie, and ther successoures to receive and uptake all and sindrie the saidis rentes, emolumentes, proffittes, and dewties whatsomever, perteaneing and belonging to the saidis landis, tenementes, houss, alterages, chaiplandries, or prebendrys, And whilkis wer in use to be payed to the chaiplandis or prebenderes therof at ony tyme bygane, Alsweel within the said burghe as without the samene, And to apply and convert the said annuelrents, rentes, proffites, and dewties, to ane necessare use and sustentatione of the reider at the said kirke of Linlithgow and for the helpe of the poore of the hospitall of the said burghe, to the whilke use the samene is granted be the said chairtour to be holdine of our soverane Lord, and his hienes

successoures in maner specified in the said chartour, vnder the great seale, of the deit the eight day of Maii the yeere of God 1^m v^o fourscoire ellevine yeeres.”¹

How the magistrates and Town Council fulfilled their trust in providing a reader for the church will be told in a subsequent chapter.² Here it is only necessary to add that, through a litigation with the North British Railway Company, the burgh of Linlithgow, which, until 1859, possessed very considerable wealth, became insolvent, and all its property, including these annual rents, was lost. The case was appealed from the Court of Session to the House of Lords by the Railway Company in 1851. After pronouncing fourteen interlocutors, the Lords gave their decision on 28th July 1859 against the burgh (3 Macqueen, p. 691).

Besides the High Altar, which, as has been explained, was used for the public celebration of the Mass, and at which the vicar or his curate officiated, there were the following altars in St Michael's Church, viz. :—(1) An altar to the Virgin Mary, founded by the burgesses ; (2) another altar to the Virgin Mary, founded by Robert Begis ; (3) an altar to St Anna ; (4) an altar to St Catherine ; (5) an altar to St Andrew ; (6) an altar to St Peter ; (7) an altar to St Ninian ; (8) an altar to St Bryd ; (9) an altar to the Holy Trinity ; (10) an altar to St Sithe ; (11) an altar to St John the Baptist ; (12) an altar to the

¹ *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. v., pp. 460-1.

² See chapter on the Reader, p. 248.

Holy Cross; (13) an altar to St Salvator; (14) an altar to St John the Evangelist; (15) an altar to the Holy Blood; (16) an altar to Corpus Christi; (17) an altar to All Saints; (18) an altar to St Anthony; (19) an altar to St Elijius¹; (20) an altar to St Nicholas²; (21) an altar to St Conan³; (22) an altar to Sts Crispinus and Crispina, martyrs; (23) an altar to St Stephen⁴; (24) an altar to St James; (25) an altar to St Duthac.

¹ For particulars as to the above altars, see the Appendix.

² See the Obit of James Robesoune and Mariot Weir.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See Appendix, Charter No. IV.



Panels from the Ancient Altar.



CHAPTER XII

THE CLERICAL SUCCESSION IN ST MICHAEL'S

"Eheu! fugaces, Posthume, Posthume,
Labuntur anni."—HORACE.

1. *Roman Vicars*

1264.¹ DOMINUS J.—This vicar is a witness to a charter by Gregory de Melevill, in which, for the welfare of the souls of Galfrid, Richard, and William de Melevill, and of all the faithful dead, he bestows half a carrucate of land towards the support of a chaplain to serve in the Chapel of Tartraven. He signs the charter thus: "Dominus J. tunc vicarius de Linlythcu."²

1286. DOMINUS ROBERT.—This vicar was connected with the Church of Haddington, probably as a chantry priest, when he was appointed to the vicarage of Linlithgow. His appointment seems to have been unfavourably regarded by the burgesses. Nothing is known of him except what has been already stated.³

¹ The dates given are not the years of institution into office, but the dates supplied by the earliest document in which the names occur. A mark of interrogation thus (?) indicates that the date is only a probable one.

² Cf. the chapter on "Ancient Chapels connected with St Michael's Church," p. 138.

³ Cf. Chapter II., p. 13.

1363. DOMINUS ADAM.—Besides being vicar of Linlithgow, Dominus Adam was chaplain to the King, for which he had ten pounds yearly during his lifetime, from the royal customs of the burgh of Linlithgow. He is referred to also as having had a pension from David II. of eleven pounds sterling annually, from the customs of Linlithgow.¹

1378. HENRY DE RANE, M.A. — In 1378 this vicar was an applicant for a canonry in the cathedral church of Brechin, with expectation of a prebend, “notwithstanding that he has the perpetual vicarage of Lytgow.”²

1416. PATRICK DE HOWISTOUNE.—He was a canon of Brechin at the same time that he was vicar of Linlithgow. He had a suit with one William de Gowan “touching the canonry and prebend of Renfrew in Glasgow.”³ He is mentioned in an obit founded by Andrew de Bonnytoun in 1442, as one of those who were to participate in the benefits of it.⁴ He died in 1429.

1440 (?). JOHN LAING.—He was rector of Tannadice in his youth, and afterwards rector of Southwick and Newlands.⁵ The date at which he became vicar of Linlithgow is unknown. A Dominus John, person, witnessed at the cross of Linlithgow, on the 7th January 1440, the *falsing* of the doom of Malcolm Fleming; and while it is probable that this was

¹ Robertson's *Index of Charters*.

² *Rolls of the University of Paris*; cf. Chap. II., pp. 20, 21.

³ *Rolls of the University of Paris*.

⁴ Cf. Appendix, p. 344.

⁵ Keith's *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, p. 253.

Dominus John Laing, there is no proof of identity. In the middle of the year 1461 Laing was appointed keeper of the privy seal, and had £3, 6s. 8d., or half a year's salary, at the end of that year. For the following year he had £6, 13s. 4d. He attended the Exchequer Court at Peebles in 1463. In the list of lords auditors of the king's accounts for 1469, "auditoribus per supremum dominum nostrum regem specialiter deputatis," is the name of John Laing, vicar of Linlithgow.¹ He was appointed Lord High Treasurer in 1470.² On the recommendation of the King he was promoted to the See of Glasgow in 1473, and shortly afterwards demitted his office of Treasurer. He became Chancellor of the Kingdom in 1481.³ He died in the beginning of 1482.⁴

1472. HENRY BOYS.—This vicar is referred to in an obit of uncertain date. He is also mentioned in a charter of date 20th April 1487. From the latter it appears that besides being perpetual vicar of Linlithgow, he was chancellor of the cathedral church of Dunblane. He seems to have died about the end of the year 1487.

1488. WILLIAM HEPBURN.—He belonged to the family of *Hailes*. After the battle of Sauchieburn, the Hepburns of Hailes, who had followed the child-king in opposition to his father, lost no time in securing any advantages which were to be reaped.

¹ *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. vii., pp. 67, 154, etc.

² *Lord High Treasurer's Accounts*.

³ Crawford's *Lives of the Officers of the Crown in Scotland*, pp. 39-40.

⁴ *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (Preface).

For some time afterwards there was a Hepburn in almost every important office. Adam Hepburn of Ogston was master of the king's stables; John Hepburn of Rollandston was principal steward of the king's household; George Hepburn was director of chancery; Patrick Hepburn of Beynstoun was steward and chamberlain of Fife, and keeper of Falkland Palace, etc. It is not known what part, if any, William, the vicar of Linlithgow, took in the war, but immediately thereafter he was appointed to the offices of clerk of the Council, and clerk-register. He witnessed a charter in 1488, in which James IV. confers the lands of Largo on the patriotic Captain Wood, a gift which it was magnanimous in the King to confer, seeing it was won by devotion to his father, even when the King himself, misguided by the nobles, was leading the opposition to him. Hepburn signs the fore-said charter thus: "*Willielmo Hepburn, vicario de Linlithqw, clerico rotulorum nostrorum et registri ac concilii.*" In 1501 Hepburn got sasine of Monreith in Wigtonshire, with the particular lands thereof.¹

1492. JOHN WALLACE.—This vicar appears as a witness to a charter by Sir John Pumphray, one of the chantry priests of Linlithgow, in which Sir John bequeaths an annual rent of 13s. 4d. from the third part of his tenement of land of Hackat, pertaining to himself, for a soul mass annually at the altar of St Katherine. He signs the charter thus: "*Mr John Wallace, vicar of Linlithgow.*"²

¹ Cf. Chap. III., pp. 26, 27.

² Cf. Obit No 2.

1520 (?). GEORGE CRICHTON.—Though Crichton did more for the fabric of St Michael's than any other vicar, there is no document, so far as is known to the writer, which gives the date at which he was appointed vicar. He must have resigned Linlithgow in 1522, when he became Abbot of Holyrood.¹ He was promoted to the See of Dunkeld in 1527,² and in the same year took part in the condemnation of Patrick Hamilton for heresy.³

1529. DAVID SMITH.—Smith was a priest attached to one of the side altars in Linlithgow Church, and as such witnessed a charter in 1492. He is referred to as vicar of Linlithgow in 1529. He was frequently found fault with by the magistrates for inattention to the duties of his office.⁴ Perhaps the best apology which can be made for him is that by 1529 he must have been so advanced in years as to be unfit for his duties.

1559. PATRICK FRENCH.—French was the last vicar of Linlithgow. The probability is that, along with Ninian Winzet, he left Linlithgow for the Continent; at least, when summoned before the Privy Council as a witness in a case connected with his lease of the teinds of the parish, he failed to appear.⁵ As there was nothing questionable in his lease, there was no reason why he should have

¹ *Liber Cartarum S. Crucis* (Preface).

² Keith's *Historical Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, p. 94.

³ *Scots Worthies*, ed. 1839, vol. i., p. 15.

⁴ *Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

⁵ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 226.

absented himself if he had been within easy reach of Edinburgh.

2. *Protestant Ministers*

1561. PATRICK KINLOQUHY.—Before the Reformation Kinloquhy was a canon of the Priory of St Andrews.¹ He had a formidable antagonist in the early years of his ministry in Ninian Winzet, the rector of the Grammar School, who wrote rather sarcastically of the doings of “Dene Patrick Kinloquhy.” But by an Act of Parliament passed in 1567 it became a crime to hear or say Mass, and thereby Kinloquhy got an easy victory; the school-master being “schott out of that his kyndly toun.”² In 1563 Kinloquhy was appointed chaplain of the Trinity altar in St Michael's Church for the purpose of handing over its endowments to the town.³ Besides having charge of Linlithgow parish, he had charge of those of Carriden and Kinneil, with the assistance of readers.⁴ In 1578 he was a member of the General Assembly, when the *Second Book of Discipline* was confirmed. He was requested by the citizens of Edinburgh, 10th October 1584, “to teach ane certain space,” and 30th following, “besought to remane” as one of their ministers, and a committee appointed by the Council “to agrie with him to be a minister in the burgh.” The matter, however, pro-

¹ Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 187.

² Preface to *The Buke of Four Scoir Thre Questons*, by Ninian Winzet, a Catholic priest.

³ *Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgw.*

⁴ *Register of Ministers and Readers in the year 1574.*

ceeded no further.¹ He took an active part in the prosecution of Mr Robert Montgomery "for aspiring to the Bishoprick of Glasgow."² He was one of the nine "best learnit and maist qualified ministers within the diocese of St Andrews besouth the Forth" chosen to compear before James VI. and his Council, and "gif into his Hieness, in write, their reasons, allegations, causes, and authorities, whereby they may in ony sort pretend disobedience, that they may receive resolution thereof be his Majesty and sic men of judgment and literature as he shall assemble for that purpose."³ Kinloquhy refused to subscribe obedience to the Archbishop, and read answers for himself and others; but submitted shortly afterwards.⁴ In 1587 he was presented by James VI. to the vicarage of Linlithgow.⁵ At a visitation of Linlithgow parish, held on the 3rd July 1611, it is recorded, "Patrick Kinloquhy, auld minister, is fund to teach none for his age and infirmitie; but Mr Robert Cornwall [who had been appointed his successor] teachis thryse in the weik." The condition of the parish, as recorded at the above visitation, is a good certificate of the efficiency with which Kinloquhy had done the work which was expected of a minister in that age. It is to the following effect: "Na excommunicates, na non-communicants, na papists except My Lady Linlithgow, na disobedients, na witches, na consultors."⁶

¹ Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, part i., p. 159.

² *Register of the Privy Council*, vol. iii., p. 476.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 703.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 703 (note).

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 226.

⁶ *Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife*, pp. 22, 23.

Kinloquhy seems to have lived a few years after he ceased the active labours of his ministry; but the exact date of his death is not known. He had a son, also named Patrick, who was on *the exercise* 12th March 1617.¹

1610-1626. ROBERT CORNWALL, A.M.—The family of Cornwall had a long and honourable connection with Linlithgow parish. As proprietors of Bonhard (once a noble mansion, though now occupied by peasants), the Cornwalls exercised a considerable influence, and filled several important offices both in Church and State. A Cornwall was provost of Linlithgow; a Cornwall was one of the chantry-priests in St Michael's before the Reformation; and two Cornwalls are found among her Protestant ministers.

Robert Cornwall in all probability received his early education at the Grammar School of Linlithgow. He afterwards studied at the University of Glasgow, of which he became a graduate in Arts in 1583. He was settled in Ecclesmachan parish in 1588, and as minister of Ecclesmachan was a member of the General Assembly in 1590.² In 1597 he was promoted to the parish of Linlithgow—Nicol Cornwall being provost of the burgh, and John Cornwall one of the councillors, at that time—as colleague and successor to Mr Kinloquhy, who was feeling the infirmities of advanced age. In 1604 he took an active part in prosecuting the laird of Bonnytown—

¹ *Records of the Presbytery of Linlithgow.*

² Scott's *Fusti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, part i., p. 159.

Mr Patrick Abercromby—and his wife and mother, all of whom were accused by the Presbytery of “the resett of a Jesuit and Seminarie priest, and for the allegeit hearing of mes.”¹ Abercromby would not purge himself by taking the oath that the Presbytery required; on the contrary, he appealed to the Privy Council against their jurisdiction, but notwithstanding his appeal he was excommunicated.² In 1606 Mr Cornwall was appointed *permanent moderator* of the Presbytery, a step which pleased the king, but greatly offended the Presbytery, who refused to receive him as such, till they were commanded by the Privy Council to do so under the penalty of rebellion.³ Cornwall had the honour of preaching before the General Assembly held at Linlithgow in 1608. He was a member of a large committee appointed by the General Assembly of 1610 to examine the Marquis of Huntlie “on all the points and heads of religion controverted,” with full power, if they found him willing “constantly to confess and profess the true religion,” to absolve him from the sentence of excommunication.⁴ In 1612 Mr Cornwall laid before the Presbytery “ane application of the University of St Andrews for help from the noblemen and gentlemen within their bounds, to the bigging of a common library,”⁵ which application being read and considered, the brethren were ordained “to speak to their parishioners to see what they would

¹ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. vii., pp. 6, 9, 16.

² *Records of the Presbytery of Linlithgow*.

³ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. vii., p. 301.

⁴ Melvill's *Autobiography and Diary*, p. 798.

⁵ *Records of Linlithgow Presbytery*.

help in that work." The most exciting event in the ministry of Cornwall was the prosecution of Lady Linlithgow for papistry. Dame Helenor Hay, Countess of Linlithgow, was a Catholic by conviction, and neither Acts of Parliament, nor Acts of Assembly, nor processes by the Presbytery, nor the entreaties of her husband, could make her a Protestant. Her trial before the Presbytery began in 1612. The brethren had great difficulty in summoning her ladyship, as, like a hunted partridge, she contrived never to spend two Sundays in the same parish. At length they fell upon the device of enjoining all the brethren, if she appeared in any of their kirks, there and then to "keep the ordinance, and give her public admonition and prayer."¹ The process lasted for several years, but does not seem to have been effective in attaining its object. Another member of the Linlithgow family got one of the Presbytery into trouble. Mr Thomas Ambrose, minister of Slamannan, had celebrated the marriage of Lord Livingston with the Marquis of Huntlie's daughter, and for this offence he was deposed from his ministry.² It was an age of stern discipline, when "music at cornstaks," "playing at gysers," and "witchcraft," shared the attentions of the Presbytery with such crimes as fighting in the kirk, murder, and adultery. The Presbytery, during this period, set its face sternly against interments in churches, occasionally ordering bodies so interred to be lifted and buried elsewhere. Mr Cornwall died on the 5th June 1626, aged 63. He had, at least, two

¹ *Records of the Presbytery of Linlithgow.*

² *Ibid.*

sons—John, who succeeded him in the parish of Linlithgow, and Alexander, who became minister of Muiravonside. He had also a daughter, named Janet.¹

1626-1646. JOHN CORNWALL.—Mr John Cornwall, who was a son of the preceding minister, was presented to the living by Charles I. on the 16th June 1626. As there is a hiatus in the records of the Presbytery from 1632 until 1640, a period which embraces a considerable portion of Cornwall's ministry, little is known of him. It is during his ministry that we first hear of a *locality of stipend*, the locality for this early period having the peculiarity, that while it provided an inadequate living for the first minister, it provided 250 merks for a second one.² Among the subjects which occupied Mr Cornwall's attention was Sabbath profanation. The cordiners of Linlithgow, in place of attending St Michael's, frequented "landward kirks and villages with their schone to be sould, to the great contempt of God"; and this method of seeking to make the best of both worlds awoke the wrath of the Town Council, who threatened them with the severest penalties.³ Notwithstanding the rigid Sabbatarianism of the times, the meetings of the Kirk-session were always held on Sundays, even when the business was "taking order anent the reparation of the kirk and mending of the defects thereof."⁴ In 1634 Mr Cornwall engaged as

¹ Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, and *Records of the Burgh and Presbytery of Linlithgow*.

² *Burgh Records*.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Session Records*.

his assistant Mr Andrew Stewart, but as the Town Council had not been consulted as to his appointment, they refused to pay any portion of his salary, and he was under the necessity of resigning.¹ In 1635 Mr Cornwall was made a burgess of the burgh.² The last ten years of his ministry were years of great excitement in Scotland, during which the forces were marshalling that were to rend both the kingdom and the kirk, and alas! prove fatal to the King. A few extracts, therefore, from the records of this period may be given here, to show how deeply society was moved. On the 28th February 1638, George Bell, younger, bailie, is granted "a commission to attend with the rest of the free burghs the *common cause anent the prayer-book*."³ On the 5th March of the same year, "the Covenant was subscribed by the haill town and inhabitants thereof."⁴ On the 24th September, Provost Glen was chosen commissioner to attend the General Assembly to be held in Glasgow, but such was the anxiety of the community as to the results of that Assembly, that eight others were appointed, two of them to attend each week with the Provost, and give him their advice in the matters to be agitated.⁵ On the 21st December the Provost reported to the Council the things that were concluded at the Glasgow Assembly "anent the kirk, bishops, ministers, and discipline."⁶ Meanwhile the burgesses of Linlithgow were being drilled "in the kirkyard," and the bailies were visiting the inhabitants "to

¹ *Burgh Records.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

take cognition how every person within the burgh is provided with powder, match, and lead.”¹ On the 24th April 1641, there was a visitation of the parish by the Presbytery, which, judging from the number of influential persons who attended it, must have been an important occasion. The minister being removed, those present gave the following account of him and his work. “Anent his life, they declare it is bettered, praised be God. Anent his care of discipline and the poor, they approve him. Anent his urging and taking account of family exercise, he has been somewhat remiss. That he catechises none except before the Communion.” While making these accusations against their minister, they so far excused him on the ground “that he was not able sufficiently to bear the whole chairge of their congregation, and therefore must have a helper.”² One result of this visitation was that David Drummond was called from Muckhart to be second minister of Linlithgow. During the same year a sum of money which was in the Provost’s hands was voted “towards the purchase of twa *silver tassies*, for collecting of the offering at the kirk door and at the Communion.”³ At a later date in the same year, it was resolved “to take as much money out of the Council kist as will be *twa tassies* for the Communion.”⁴

Mr Cornwall died in 1646, leaving behind him several sons and a daughter.

1646-1650. DAVID DRUMMOND, M.A. — Mr

¹ *Burgh Records.*

² *Presbytery Records.*

³ *Burgh Records.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

Drummond succeeded to the first charge on the death of Mr John Cornwall, being presented to the living by Charles I.

During the ministry of Mr Drummond it was customary for the bailies of Linlithgow "to accompany the minister through the town in the afternoon, after the sermon, every Sabbath, for taking notice of who are at family exercise, or catechising, reading, or the like exercise becoming the Sabbath, and who are not, that they, according to their faults, may be punished."¹ Such rigid views on Sabbath observance were enforced, that the inhabitants were forbidden to be "seen on the street till after six hours."²

Another subject which occupied the attention of the session during Mr Drummond's ministry was the reconciling of those who had quarrelled. On the 27th July 1647, the elders were ordained to visit those in their districts who were at variance, and use diligence to "agree them"; but certain persons were not willing to be agreed with their enemies, and were, consequently, debarred from the communion table, and threatened with being put out of the town.³

The sin of drunkenness seems in Mr Drummond's time, as in our own, to have occupied the attention of Church Courts. On the 3rd August 1647, "Patrick Gibson, deacon of the wabsters, is admonished to show more sobriety himself in time coming, and to intimate the like to his craft." He is also enjoined to intimate to them "to discharge their wives from

¹ *Burgh Records.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

following them to taverns, or ale-houses, under the pain of public censure.”¹

For a long time the session of Linlithgow had been searching for witches; but, though they had accused several, they had never succeeded in finding a real witch. Now, however, in 1648, they found one. Agnes Dilap (Dunlop) was reported to the session to have sold herself to the devil, and a long and pitiable trial ensued. The details of the trial are not suitable for publication, save as an illustration of the ignorance and superstition of the times.²

The best feature in the discipline exercised by the Church during the seventeenth century is *its impartiality*. If the ploughman had to appear on the stool of repentance, so also had the nobleman.

In the ministry of Mr Drummond began the fierce quarrel between Resolutioners and Protesters. The earliest indication of it, so far as the *Session Records* are concerned, is the following: “18th January 1648:—Margaret Beattie to be cited to compare before the Presbytery, who is reported to have been with the Irishes at Philiphaugh.” Again, on the 1st June of the same year, we find the Town Council resolving that “ane muster of the Inhabitants be in the kirkyard upon Sunday, the 9th June instant, ordaining all to have their arms in readiness against that day, under the pain of 100 lib.”³

On the 11th June 1648, the following persons, for having taken part in the “Engagement,” were debarred from being elders:—“Alexander, Earl of

¹ *Session Records*.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

Linlithgow, a Committee man; George, Lord Levistoun, a Colonel to horse; Sir Andrew Stirling, a Commissioner; Alexander Hamilton of Parkley, a Foot-master to horse; Mr John Bruce of Wrae, a Committee man; William Drummond of Riccarton, a Committee man; Alexander Hamilton of East Binny, Commissioner; George Bell, Commissioner; and Alexander Crawford; James Glen, Committee man; Major Hamilton, Committee man; Thomas Edward, Committee man."¹

On the 4th October 1648, Mr Drummond was deposed for not preaching against the *Engagement*. There was a tumult in the church on the Sunday on which the sentence was announced.²

On the 2nd December it was intimated to the Town Council that it would "be necessary to have a new election of magistrates and Council, and that no one shall be elected except those who had no hand in the *Engagement*."³

Such was the rage of the session, now purged of its ministers and of all Engagement men, that William Wilson in Hillhouse, who applied to be proclaimed with a view to his marriage with Christina Walker, was denied the privilege, till he would stand on the stool of repentance, "*for his being a trooper in the sinful Engagement*."⁴

On the 12th of February 1649, there was held in St Michael's Church a meeting of the session of Linlithgow, and others eminent in the congregation,

¹ *Session Records*.

² Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, part i., p. 159.

³ *Burgh Records*.

⁴ *Session Records*.

"for taking notice and trial of the carriage, guiltiness, and activeness of the session, Council, and congregation in relation to the late *sinful Engagement*." All who had aided the army or countenanced the *Engagement* in any shape or form had to declare their penitence, or forfeit their position in the Session, Council, or congregation. It is amusing to find many of the Elders and Town Councillors declaring that they thought the "Engagement right at the time, and supported it; but now that the General Assembly had declared against it, they are satisfied it is unlawful."¹ Those writers who wish to treat the history of this period justly, must remember that it was the Covenanters who deposed the Resolutioners, and that, therefore, they are accountable for the schism which took place. It was they who by their extravagance sacrificed the King, and they, too, who brought Cromwell to Scotland.

No minister of Linlithgow was ever held in higher esteem than the deposed Mr David Drummond. Many years after his deposition, when royalty was restored and the covenanting cause waning, the magistrates of Linlithgow spent months, and attended numerous meetings of the Synod, with the view of inducing him to return to his old charge. But though his sentence of deposition had been cancelled, and though he reciprocated "the real and ardent affection" that the Town Council and people had manifested towards him, "his weakness, sickness, and inability of body" were such that he was under the necessity of declining.²

¹ *Session Records.*

² *Burgh Records.*

The above refusal was made in 1665. Though the date of Mr Drummond's death is not known, it is probable that he died shortly afterwards.

1650-1653. EPHRAIM MELVILL, A.M.—Mr Ephraim Melvill was the son of Mr Ephraim Melvill, minister of Pittenweem. His father, who was the first of the family of Melvill to bear the name of *Ephraim*, was a son of Mr James Melvill, the autobiographer.¹

Melvill, as was natural for a Fife lad, after completing his elementary education, entered the University of St Andrews, of which his great-grand-uncle had at one time been Principal. He graduated in 1629.²

In September 1641, he was ordained to the parish of South Queensferry, where he proved himself the implacable enemy of witches, delating many, burning several, and in at least one case compelling the husband to pay the cost of his wife's *auto-da-fé*.³

In 1646 Mr Melvill was presented to the parish of Livingstone; but the inhabitants of Queensferry having increased his stipend to 800 merks, and given a promise to the Presbytery that they should continue it at that amount, his translation did not take place."⁴

In 1649 Mr Melvill was appointed a commissioner for visiting the University of St Andrews, and "for distributing the feu-maills and other endowments among the Principal, Professors, Regents, and other

¹ Melvill's *Autobiography and Diary*, p. 220; and Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, part i., p. 160.

² *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, part i., p. 160.

³ *Queensferry Session Records*.

⁴ *Ibid*

members of the University." In the same year he was a member of a similar commission for visiting the college of Edinburgh.¹

In 1649 the Protesters were busy trying to pack the General Assembly with persons holding their own views. Louis Monteith, Provost of the burgh, was elected by the Town Council to be their commissioner to the General Assembly, but the Session declined to sign his appointment on the ground that he is "one disaffected to the present work in hand, as himself declared in the face of the Session."²

In 1650 Mr Melvill succeeded Mr Drummond in the parish of Linlithgow, being appointed thereto by the Commission of the General Assembly. The Session of Linlithgow wished two ministers, and had set their hearts on "Mr Patrick Shields, minister at West Calder, and if it was possible to get two from and out of their own Presbytery, then they did nominate Mr Ephraim Melvill, minister of Queensferry, and failing him, they pitched unanimously upon Mr Alexander Livingstoun, minister at Biggar." But those were the days when Church courts exercised an undisputed authority, and the Presbytery would promise "none of their number but one." The Session accordingly "unanimously condescended upon and nominated Mr Ephraim Melvill, minister of Queensferry, to be the man."³

The Town Council, which like the Session consisted now only of non-Engagement men, co-operated

¹ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. vi., part ii., pp. 503 and 510.

² *Session Records*.

³ *Ibid.*

with the session in calling a minister, and agreed with them in desiring Mr Alexander Livingstoun of Biggar. They declared that "if Mr Livingstoun refuses they will be content to have Mr Patrick Schaw; but they object to Mr Melvill, by reason of the weakness of his voice." At length, however (29th Oct. 1649), they resolved, with one or two dissentients, to "leave the matter as between Schaw and Melvill in the hands of the Commission" of Assembly. The Commission appointed Mr Melvill, who was inducted on the 31st January 1650.¹

The unfortunate division of the Church of Scotland into Resolutioners and Protesters took place in the following year. Mr Melvill, as might be expected from his family connection and early training, espoused the cause of the Protesters. Such was the strife between the parties that no minutes of Session were kept in the parish of Linlithgow, though there were two Sessions, each styling the other the "pretended" one; but, fortunately, when it was healed in 1661, the Presbytery appointed Mr William Weir "to cause draw up in a Register the whole minutes of the session at Linlithgow, from September 15th, 1651, until that he leave the ministry at Linlithgow, if he obey the Synod's sentence; the said minutes being through all Mr Ephraim's time, and all Mr Alexander Guthrie's time, and a great part of his own time, not recorded, through the death of the clerk; and for the rest, which were after the clerk's death, in his own time, he was appointed to subscribe

¹ *Burgh Records.*

the same by way of record to the rest preceding."¹ This was done; and this minute-book is still in possession of the Kirk-session.

The Session ordained Mr Melvill (February 22nd, 1652) to "warn the congregation publicly that they who sell ale untimeously, or to drunk persons, or on the Lord's day, or who allow any to drink in their houses till they are overtaken with drink," shall be punished.² In this the protesting Kirk-session of Linlithgow anticipated the legislation of the country on the drink question by at least two centuries.

Mr Melvill married Bessie Yoole, and had three daughters, Bessie, Eupham, and Katherine. The last was baptised 26th July 1652, Walter Stewart of Pardovan and William Crichton being witnesses thereto.³

Mr Melvill died in April 1653, and is described in the *Session Records of Linlithgow* as our "late faithful and worthy pastor." As an interpreter of Scripture, he was declared by Rutherford to be "one among a thousand." It is said that he was the means of bringing Durham of Glasgow, and other exemplary divines, under the power of the gospel.⁴

1653-1655. ALEXANDER GUTHRIE, A.M.—Mr Guthrie was the son of Alexander Guthrie, tailor in Edinburgh. He studied at the university of his native city, and took his degree in 1648.⁵

On the vacancy occurring in Linlithgow by the death of Mr Ephraim Melvill, the Kirk-session, from

¹ *Session Records.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, part i., p. 160.

⁵ *Ibid.*, part i., pp. 160-1.

which all the Resolutioners had been purged, "taking (on the 26th April 1653) to their consideration the sad estate and condition of the parish by reason of the removal of their late faithful and worthy pastor, Mr Ephraim Melvill, after seeking of God the most part of the day for direction in the nomination of a man to be their minister, did unanimously nominate and elect Mr Alexander Guthrie, expectant, having good abilities and a godly conversation."¹ They also ordained "a supplication to be given in to the Presbytery, entreating them in the bowels of Jesus Christ, and as they tender the salvation of souls in this parish, that with all possible diligence they put Mr Alexander Guthrie on trial of his qualifications without delay."²

Two days later, the Town Council unanimously agreed to call Mr David Drummond, their old minister, whose sentence of deposition for not preaching against the Engagement had now been removed. James Glen and Thomas Heart were appointed to visit Mr Drummond and intimate to him the said call. On the 2nd of May following, Messrs Glen and Heart reported that they "went and gave a call to Mr David Drummond, to be their minister, and that he rendered them thanks for their kindly respects, and showed his willingness to embrace such a call if he could come thereunto with love and power."³ The Council then made choice of the Provost and Thomas Heart to "attend the Presbytery with a scroll of the said call, and desire their advice and concurrence for obtaining of Mr Drummond, and restraining others from that place."⁴

¹ *Session Records.*² *Ibid.*³ *Burgh Records.*⁴ *Ibid.*

Not obtaining any support from the Presbytery, the Resolutioners appealed to the Synod, where their party was in the majority. The Synod appointed a committee with the view of uniting the contending parties, giving them powers to inquire if the Kirk-session of Linlithgow were properly constituted, and to *plant* the kirk with a minister. Against this the Presbytery took an appeal to the first free lawful General Assembly, and in the meantime, to make sure of victory, proceeded to try Mr Guthrie with a view to his settlement.¹

Mr Robert Row, a son of the historian, who at this time was minister of Abercorn, was appointed by the Presbytery to preach in Linlithgow on Sunday 8th and Monday 9th May, 1653, for the purpose of advancing Mr Guthrie's settlement a stage. He had on that occasion an experience, probably unique in the history of preaching, which he reported to the Presbytery two days afterwards. In reporting it, Mr Row declared "that he had met with great interruption in his preaching on the Lord's day, viz., by threatenings from the Governor, accompanied by Robert Stewart, provost, the bailies of Linlithgow and their attendants, of pulling him violently out of the pulpit, and which they also really did on the Monday thereafter, to the forcing of him to preach in the fields."² Not satisfied with this treatment shown to Mr Row, Provost Stewart cast Mr William Crichton, ruling elder in the Presbytery for Linlithgow,

¹ *Presbytery and Synod Records.*

² *Presbytery Records.*

into prison. He also, shortly afterwards, imprisoned the Presbytery officer.¹

In the midst of this strife a report obtained currency that the English had appointed a minister to the church—a Mr Burne, an Englishman—who was to be publicly admitted on the ensuing Lord's day. There is no indication in the Records of the feelings of the Resolutioners as to the reported intrusion, but the protesting Presbytery appointed two of their number, as representing "Christ's Established Judicatory," to attend the church, and "if any such thing be, publicly to protest against any such encroachment."²

Meanwhile the Committee of Synod had declared the Resolutionist party to be the Presbytery.³

The protesting Presbytery served the ordinary edict, appointing Mr Guthrie's ordination to take place on the 1st of June, the day "to be a day of fasting and humiliation."⁴

On the 31st May the Presbytery met to receive objections as appointed in the edict. When they met they found that they had no officer to call for the said objections, as Provost Stewart "in a tumultuous way had incarcerated their officer," and James Hardie had to be appointed officer *pro tempore*. They were not allowed to meet within the burgh, but were "put by violence fra their meeting-place, and forced to keep their meeting at Magdalenes, near the East Port."⁵

Presbytery Records.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Synod Records.*

⁴ *Presbytery Records.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

The following day the Presbytery, having remained all night at Magdalenes, met to ordain Mr Guthrie, when "there appeared the Governor of Linlithgow, with his soldiers in arms, and the provost and bailies of Linlithgow with their officers and halberts, with many others of the disaffected in the town, and after they had called the ministers furth of the house, discharged them from going about that admission. The ministers answering that they found themselves bound in conscience to go about that work, immediately thereafter the officers of the town with their halberts, and other persons of the town fell upon the ministers and wounded some of them, and drave them by violence from the place."¹

The Presbytery thus driven from Magdalenes, met "at the place called Langlands, near Pardovane," at a later hour of the same day, and after prayer made by Mr Gilbert Hall, moderator, by imposition of hands, admitted Mr Alexander Guthrie minister of the gospel of Jesus Christ at Linlithgow; and thereafter, the rest of the day till near night was spent in preaching and prayer by several ministers appointed to that effect.²

A week after Mr Guthrie's ordination, the Presbytery, in view of his delicate health, took steps to appoint a colleague, and Mr William Weir, a licentiate of their own and a fellow-student of Mr Guthrie's, who had graduated on the same day, was ordained, 6th October 1653, to the second charge.

¹ *Presbytery Records*; also, Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, part i., p. 160.

² *Presbytery Records*.

The Resolutionist party, though they had not yet found a minister, were encouraged by the ministers of other parishes within the bounds who belonged to their party to persevere in their opposition. Evidently, too, they succeeded in keeping Messrs Guthrie and Weir in trouble, as we find the protesting Session declaring that they were "daily troubled and molested by the encroachments of some ministers upon our just privileges, by what authority we do not know, doing what in them lies not only to bear off the people from countenancing their lawful minister, but also to withdraw them from and stir them up against him and us ; preaching without any call from the session, yea, against the session's will, and baptizing the children of all, yea even the most scandalous persons, without acquainting of the session therewith, to our great grief, and to the grief of all the godly in and about the place, and to the rendering of our government detestable and odious to strangers among us." The above quotations are from a supplication given in to the Synod in behalf of the Session ; but in the following minute the deputies who were appointed to give it in, reported that they had presented the supplication, but were slighted.¹ Meanwhile services were held by the Protesters in John Calder's barn ; the Resolutioners had no regular services, and the church was in the possession of Cromwell's soldiers.

In the midst of these tumults, Mr Walter Stewart, whose son was afterwards to possess considerable influence in Church and State, and especially within

¹ *Presbytery Records.*

the burgh of Linlithgow, was ordained to the eldership on the 4th February 1655. Mr William Weir preached on the occasion, and "largely held out from the Word of God the lawfulness of elders."

A fortnight afterwards Mr Guthrie died, having been minister of Linlithgow for one year and nine months. Baillie represents him as "a silly man, forced on the ministry of Linlithgow contrary to all the Synod could do."¹ It is certainly true that he was exceedingly infirm in health, and that if he had not been strengthened, in the sense of *encouraged*, by the protesting Presbytery, he would have declined the call of the Session when the storm burst of which he was the occasion. In the opinion of the Protesters he was "a young man of ability and godly conversation."²

1655-1661. WILLIAM WEIR, A.M.—Mr William Weir studied at the University of Edinburgh, of which he became a graduate in 1648. As he was licensed by the Presbytery of Linlithgow on the 18th of May 1653, it is likely that he was a native of one of the parishes within the bounds.³

Adhering to the protesting party, Mr Weir was called to the second charge of Linlithgow on the 9th of June 1653, and ordained and admitted on the 6th of October of the same year.⁴ The Synod, on the ground that he had not been "lawfully called and tried," inhibited him from exercising the functions of the ministry on the 10th of May 1654.⁵ Deeming

¹ Silly here means infirm. *Vide* Baillie's *Letters and Journals*.

² *Presbytery Records*.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Synod Records*. Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, part i., p. 161.

the Synod's action to be partisan, he continued to discharge the duties of his ministry until the death of Mr Guthrie, when he was called to the first charge by the protesting Session, and admitted by the protesting Presbytery on the 29th of May 1655.¹

The death of Mr Guthrie was regarded by the Town Council as offering a suitable opportunity for conferring with the protesting party, with a view to a settlement of their differences. They, accordingly, took steps to arrange a meeting between the heritors and Council on the one side, and certain members of the protesting Session, appointed to represent the Session, on the other. The Session in appointing their representatives took care to give them instructions. They were "to insist that Mr Weir and the elders who meet with him should be acknowledged as the only minister and elders making up the session of Linlithgow." They were to "hold out the difficulty of getting an actual minister. Considering the distracted state of the parish, they were not to refuse to hear the advice of the heritors and Town Council, as well as to propound their own thoughts about the young man to be elected. If the heritors and Town Council stick peremptorily not to give them a young man, but an actual minister, they were not to refuse to confer about it, observing the second instruction. They were to endeavour with the said heritors and Town Council that a way may be held out for a competency for the present minister and him that shall be elected. Nothing was to be agreed to that might prejudice the

¹ *Presbytery Records.*

session of their powers and liberty in the election of a man, and nothing granted to them reaching beyond their consent and concurrence. They were to conclude nothing but what they make report of to the session."¹

The conference took place, and the delegates of the Session returned in the afternoon of the same day to report how they had fared. The following was their report: "Mr William Weir and those who were appointed to be with him to meet with those appointed from the heritors and Town Council, for consent and agreement in order to the election of a man to be their minister, gave in their report thus: That some of the said heritors did threaten some of them with violence to break their heads; also some of the Council threatened some of them with imprisonment in a place called the pit, and that without any offence done by any of them, and without any just cause. And after a long time reasoning and jangling, the said commissionate persons from the session did name some expectants and some actual ministers to be elected for their minister, and inquired if they were satisfied with any of them? They declared, No! they would have none of them."²

Having failed to secure a union, each party went where they knew they would find sympathy. The Session appealed to the Presbytery, requesting them, "considering the sad condition of the place, and the difficulty there is of getting any young man for the charge, that they would appoint a day for seeking the Lord's direction together with

¹ *Session Records.*

² *Ibid.*

the session," reminding them "that formerly in the midst of our straits when we knew not what to do, the Lord did bless this exercise," and suggesting that even "supposing everything should not succeed as we would have it, yet it shall never repent us that we sought the Lord, and got the matter *rowed over upon Himself*."¹ The magistrates, on the other hand, appealed to the Synod, appointing Provost Robert Stewart, Thomas Heart, and Andrew Duncan to act with others to be deputed by the landward heritors, in "representing to them our hard condition."² The Synod appointed a special committee to deal with the *Linlithgow troubles*, giving them power if necessary to settle a minister in the parish.³ In the meantime the Protesters, having failed to induce Mr Gilbert Hall, minister at Kirkliston, to accept the charge, were taking steps to secure Mr William Brown, an expectant.⁴ The Synod's committee decided "that all those who were members of session in the year 1649, free from slander or offence, should meet and elect a minister."⁵ This seems, for a little while, to have satisfied both parties, and the Session sisted their procedure in calling Mr Brown, and took steps to induce the elders who had left in 1649 to "come and sit with them," to see if all of them can agree unanimously in the calling of another minister. Robert Cuthbertson, John Higgins, and William Bell did so, and John Duncan, though unable to

¹ *Session Records*.² *Burgh Records*.³ *Presbytery and Synod Records*.⁴ *Presbytery Records*.⁵ *Presbytery and Synod Records*.

attend, declared "to those who spoke with him that he would own the present Session." The Session also sent a supplication to the Synod, desiring "that they would not wrong the session of their liberty, nor the Presbytery of theirs, in the planting of the kirk with another minister," and deputed all their members to attend the committee of Synod "to get the answer to the said supplication, and to show the Committee their diligence in dealing with the old elders to sit with the session."¹ On the 20th of August the deputation who attended the Synod declared to the Session "that they were slighted in the answer of the Committee of Synod to the supplication," and that the Committee of Synod declared "they had a mind to take upon them to plant the kirk with another minister without any call from the session."² The Session, accordingly, gave in a supplication to the Presbytery, entreating them "in the bowels of Jesus Christ that with all possible diligence they would put Mr William Brown (whom the session did formerly elect) upon the trial of his qualifications, and being found qualified, to admit him without delay."³ By this time the Resolutioners had got into communication with Mr James Ramsay, minister of Kirkintilloch and were busy arranging for his transportation. The Protesters ordained Mr Brown on the 12th of September, and the Resolutioners inducted Mr Ramsay on the 14th. Thus Linlithgow came to be in the strange position of having *three ministers* and no church, the latter being in the hands of General Monk.

¹ *Session Records.*² *Ibid.*³ *Ibid.*

The magistrates having secured a minister, made a strong effort to secure the legal stipend. In this, however, they were defeated to a certain extent; for General Monk, who consented to the church being divided and a half given to each party, insisted on the same principle being followed in regard to the stipend. This arrangement gave to Mr Weir and Mr Ramsay a stipend of £53, 5s. 8d. each, while Mr Brown had nothing but the free-will offerings of the *protesting people*. The Resolutioners supplemented Mr Ramsay's salary; the Protesters, probably, supplemented Mr Weir's, while they were responsible for the whole of Mr Brown's. The last reference to Mr Brown on the Session Record is of date 22nd December 1658, and it is probable that the difficulty of obtaining a stipend, as well as the "insubordination of the people to his ministry," was a reason of his resigning.

As the year 1660 approached, the Protesters found it more and more difficult to maintain their ground. With a rival session and congregation in the west end of the church, whom the Synod acknowledged as *the session and congregation*, and with the magistrates working against them even to the extent of threatening with civil penalties those who would submit to their discipline, they were in great straits. However, though they could not enforce their discipline, they kept a record of "the scandalous persons abounding in the congregation which does not own them," which, even if it did no good either to them or those whom they wished to discipline but could not, may have gratified a feeling somewhat

ignoble, but so natural that one can sympathise with it. Here is an extract from the Protesters' book of *imaginary discipline*. "George Bell, elder [of the Resolutionist kirk, of course], was *so drunk that he could not walk on the streets*. Witnesses, Thomas Thomson, elder, Robert Hucheson, James Peebles, John Cudbertson, Harry Duncan, and that upon the 30th day of May 1659."¹

With the return of the King the protesting schism was healed. Mr Weir, on the 7th of March 1660, "for unity of the congregation and of the Presbytery," submitted to the Synod's Committee.² He was ordained by the Synod, which met on the 7th of May, "to remove and transport himself betwixt and the last day of July next."³ Very naturally, considering their contents, he was unwilling to deliver to the magistrates the Records of the protesting Session; but being imprisoned by Provost Glen in the "Thieves' Hole," and subsequently in the Palace, for six weeks, he at length complied.⁴

1655-1665. JAMES RAMSAY, M.A.—Mr Ramsay was a son of Mr Robert Ramsay, Principal of the University of Glasgow. He studied at the University of Glasgow, and graduated in 1647. In 1653 he was ordained to the ministry of the parish of Kirkintilloch. As there were objections raised against him by the Protesters, he was ordained by the Presbytery of Glasgow, *assisted by a Committee of the General*

¹ *Session Records* (protesting).

² *Session Records*.

³ *Synod Records*.

⁴ Scott's *Fasti and Session Records*.

Assembly.¹ While minister of Kirkintilloch, he was forbidden by the English to preach in Kirkintilloch Church, and the people were forbidden to hear him. Judge Moysley, also, interdicted him from preaching in any of the neighbouring churches. With very few exceptions the parishioners of Kirkintilloch adhered to him; but such was the persecution which he endured at the hands of the Protesters, who "would not, for any entreaty, be pleased to let him live in peace," that, as Baillie says, "we let him go to Lithgow, where he is much better than he could have been where he was."²

On the 1st September 1655, the Town Council minute that Mr Ramsay has received "ane unanimous call from the congregation [Resolutionist], and that they will be pleased to receive him to be their minister."³

On the 10th of the following month they agree "to supplicat the Commission for plantation of Kirks for opposing of Mr William Brown's call, and desiring their approbation of Mr James Ramsay to be their minister, conform to their call." Mr Ramsay was inducted to the ministry of Linlithgow by the Resolutionist Presbytery on the 14th September 1655. On the 25th October 1655, the Town Council resolved that, "in view of the great expense Mr Ramsay has been at in coming to be our minister, and since syne, his stipend be supplemented by voluntary contributions from the Inhabitants."⁴

The parishioners of Linlithgow, on the 8th

¹ Baillie's *Letters and Journals*, vol. iii., p. 216.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 313.

³ *Burgh Records*.

⁴ *Ibid.*

November 1656, petitioned the Synod to encourage Mr Ramsay in his calling, "as, though an able, pious, and peaceable man, he met with many obstructions in the exercise of his ministry." The Synod, who had just heard Mr Ramsay preach the opening sermon, complimented him on his sermon, and declared him "lawfully called and admitted to Linlithgow."¹ This, however, would not surprise the Protesters, as the Synod, from the commencement of the strife, had espoused the cause of the Resolutionist party.

The Synod, on the 3rd November 1658, appointed a Committee to "deal with the heritors, with the view of having a stipend settled on each of the ministers settled by the two parties."²

In 1659 Mr Ramsay attended the Town Council, and represented to them "the hard and deplorable condition of the congregation and of the town," and desired the annual rents of the altars to be advanced for relieving them. The Council acknowledged the equity and reasonableness of the desire, but lamented their inability at this time, "because of great and extraordinary pressure and burdens upon them."³

In 1660 Mr William Weir submitted to the Synod, and agreed to leave Linlithgow. Mr Ramsay thus became sole minister. The Town Council, as appears from their minutes, were employed, shortly afterwards, in taking steps "to search and try furth a man weil gifted and qualified, either actual minister or expectant, to be colleague minister with Mr James Ramsay."⁴ And once more they set their hearts on

¹ *Synod Records.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Burgh Records.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

Mr David Drummond, who, they say, "was wrongously, to our unspeakable grief, deposed."¹

On the 29th May 1661, the inhabitants of Linlithgow, under the guidance of Mr James Ramsay and Mr Robert Mylne, one of the bailies, celebrated the return of the King, the establishment of Episcopacy, and the inauguration of a new regime, by burning "The Solemn League and Covenant" at the market-place. The Council afterwards disowned this act,² but Mr Ramsay had no reason to disown it, as it probably helped him to secure that promotion which he afterwards obtained in the Church.

On the 10th December 1664, Provost Stewart informed the Council that "our minister, Mr James Ramsay, is presented Dean of Hamilton, and that he intends to accept the same, and desert us."

In 1673 Mr Ramsay was preferred to the See of Dunblane, on the translation of Bishop Leighton to the Archiepiscopal See of Glasgow. On the 23rd May 1684, he was translated from Dunblane to Ross, where he continued until he was deprived at the Revolution. He died in Edinburgh on the 22nd October 1696, and is interred in the Canongate churchyard.³

1665-1690. ALEXANDER SETON.—Mr Seton was the son of Alexander Seton, Esq., of Graden. In his early life he studied physic and qualified as a physician. He afterwards studied divinity, and for some time was settled as a clergyman in England. When Mr Ramsay

¹ *Burgh Records.*

² *Ibid.*

³ Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, part i., p. 161; and Keith's *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, p. 204.

was promoted to the deanery of Hamilton, Mr Seton was appointed to Linlithgow by the Bishop of St Andrews, probably through the influence of Sir Walter Seton of Northbank, his appointment being intimated to the Town Council on the 7th of October 1665. Mr Seton's mother was a Cornwall of Bonhard.¹

Two days after the above intimation was made to the Town Council, an edict was served in St Michael's Church, to the effect that "if any person charges anything to object against Mr Alexander Seton, his collocation and ordination to the kirk of Linlithgow, that they compear in the said Bishop's lodgings in Edinburgh, upon Thursday first, and show the same."² Whatever the Protesters may have thought, the Town Council were in no mood to object. On the contrary, they "unanimously approve of the haill procedure in obtaining Mr Alexander Seton to be our minister, both in his presentation and edict, and with thankfulness remember the Bishop, his care of us, and his kindness towards us."³ On the occasion of Mr Seton's settlement, they, as was their custom in early times, entertained "our minister, and the rest of the ministers of the Presbytery who were present at his ordination, to a dinner."

Mr Seton, unfortunately, was not able to adapt himself to the views and ways of the magistrates of Linlithgow. Before he had spent many years among them, they were loud in their complaints against him.

¹ *History of the Family of Seton*, by Geo. Seton, advocate, vol. i., p. 358.

² *Burgh Records*.

³ *Ibid.*

On the 4th December 1671, they resolved "to write to Sir Walter Seton, his brother, and acquaint him that they have often assayed a settling and keeping of good correspondence with him in all things relating to his encouragement and our comfort ; but all proving ineffectual, and the gap is now likely to be broader, and the said Sir Walter being the only person whom they look to for composing their differences they have, and preventing others that may arise hereafter, therefore desire him to appoint any day the beginning of next week, with the hour and place, that the Provost and others may have a conference with our minister in his presence ; and if there shall be no settlement through his default, we will take such courses to signify the same to the Bishop of St Andrews, and desire that he will order his accommodation elsewhere."¹ Sir Walter Seton agreed to a conference at his house [Northbank], and the Provost, Gavin Marshall, and James Crawford were appointed to represent the magistrates.²

The cause of the strife between magistrates and minister appears to have been the unwillingness of Mr Seton to consent to the appointment of a second minister. Whatever may be in this surmise, it is significant that after the conference with the deputies of the magistrates, in presence of his brother, Mr Seton gave in a declaration to the Council in the following terms : "Whereas it hath been long desired that a second minister should be provided in this church, I hereby declare myself willing to concur

¹ *Burgh Records.*

² *Ibid.*

therein, upon wise and peaceable grounds, and in order thereto, do desire two of your number may be appointed to acquaint me with your inclinations as to the sum you will allow a person you like, that I may with them attend the respective bishops of St Andrews and Edinburgh therein concerned."

The result of this declaration was that Mr John Burnett was appointed, on the 12th of October 1672, to be taken on trial as to his literary qualifications and conversation, with a view to his being admitted "second minister of our kirk."¹

After a lull of over a year, the strife between the Town Council and Mr Seton was resumed. From a minute, of date 4th March 1674, we learn "that the Council, considering the several miscarriages and wrongs done by Mr Alexander Seton, our minister, they have desired the Provost, Thomas Heart, and Gavin Marshall, Bailies, and the Dean of Guild to meet and speak with him, and see if he will confess his wrongs and promise amendment, or otherwise they will be necessitated to acquaint the *Ordinary* for a visitation."² Another minute, of date 28th March, shows that the Kirk-session are at one with the Town Council in their action against Mr Seton. "Whereas," says the minute, "there are sundry enormities and wrongs done by Mr Alexander Seton, our minister, and as the Kirk-session have thought fit so do we, that there be a visitation of our kirk, and they not purposing to move therein without acquainting the gentlemen of the out-parish of the same, that their

¹ *Burgh Records*.

² *Ibid*.

advice and concurrence may be thereto, and siclike for Mr John Burnett's stipend having had little encouragement since he came amongst us, and it is necessary that the gentlemen be acquainted to meet with the Kirk-session, and that they cordially may agree therein, and the Council has nominated Bailie Heart and the Dean of Guild to meet with the Provost when he shall acquaint them, to acquaint the Bishop of Edinburgh of the Council's desire."¹ From a minute of 4th April, we learn the feelings of Mr Seton as to this proposed visitation by the Bishop. "The same day, the Provost, Thomas Heart, Bailie, the Dean of Guild, and others appointed by the Council to meet and speak with Mr Alexander Seton, upon the 14th March last, made their report as follows: That they appointed Archibald Leich, Deacon of the weavers, to acquaint the said Mr Alexander to meet with the Provost and others appointed by the Council, whereupon the said Mr Alexander came to the Provost's house and brought Mr Andrew Ker, their clerk, along with him, and enquired at the Provost upon what occasion he was desired to meet with some of the Council in the afternoon? To which the Provost replied, that although he needed not to tell him until he came to the place and before the persons appointed, yet, partly to satisfy his desire, and also that he might be the more ready to satisfy the expectation of the Council, he was willing to communicate the same to him, which was as follows: The Bailies and Council

¹ *Burgh Records.*

doth represent to him that he had occasioned great disorders in the town and parish since the Provost's attendance in the Parliament, in that he preaches and reviles the magistrates in his ordinary discourses, at the Marcat cross, and in taverns, as enemies to the ministry, countenancers of all vice, protectors of vicious persons, abstractors of the rents of the poor, and also that he inserted the same in the session-books subscribed by him; secondly, that he encouraged the phanatic party to continue in their methods of going to conventicles by saying, 'Poor people! why should they be hindered in preaching and praying where they please?' Thirdly, that he observed no order or rule set down by the Bishop of Edinburgh in the government of the parish, but kept an arbitrary government in his own hands, and whatever was done regularly by his colleague he transgressed it the next day; fourthly, that he in ane session disowned Mr Burnett as minister of the place, and said that he had no power to administer the Sacraments. That the Council had appointed us to see if he would acknowledge his faults, and promise amendment, and live more peaceably hereafter, and there should be no more of it, otherwise they would have to complain to his *Ordinary*. The said Mr Alexander Seton, receiving these four heads, gave the Provost the *lie in his own house to each of them*, and thereafter coming to Mr Alexander Mastertoun, Treasurer, his house, where the most part of the Council were present, the foresaid just grievances of the Council were opened to him, with their desire that all things

might be closed, and that he would acknowledge his faults since he could not deny them, being under his own hand, and witnesses so many that he could not deny them, he, in a most insolent manner, said he would acknowledge no wrong, but gave the Council a bill of defiance. The Council, taking the same into their serious consideration, together also with the great prejudice the parish and they do sustain by his ministry, appoints the Provost, Bailie Heart, and the Dean of Guild to go to Edinburgh to represent the same to the Bishop, his Ordinary, and that the heritors be warned to meet and hear what is to be said against him, that we may have their concurrence for a visitation."¹

The visitation was appointed for the last Thursday of May 1674, and with a view to it the Council appointed an influential committee "to meet and propose articles of agreement betwixt the minister and them."²

On the 10th October 1674, the Council resolved not to pay any house-maill to Mr Alexander Seton. A year afterwards a meeting of the Presbytery was held with the view of settling the debates between Mr Seton and the Council. This led to an *Act of Agreement* being adopted; but like many another Act, it did not succeed in effecting its object. Accordingly, the Council is under the necessity of "entreating (20th August 1677) Robert and Alexander Mylne to speak to the Bishop of Edinburgh anent Mr Seton."³ On the 6th October there was read to the Council

¹ *Burgh Records.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

"some accusations against Mr Seton, to be presented to the Bishop, and some proposals of peace betwixt our minister and us."¹ These endeavours to establish peaceful relations having failed, there was read to the Council, on the 23rd April 1681, "a double libel to be given in anent Mr Seton."²

The quarrel between the minister and Town Council of Linlithgow at length reached the Privy Council, with results which probably were not pleasant to either. These results are made sufficiently clear from the following minute: "The Provost being in Edinburgh anent his ain affairs, happened to be informed that the Earl of Linlithgow had got a commission from the Privy Council (upon his misrepresentation of the magistrates) to call them to an accompt of their diligence against fanatics in the town, and to fine those who were neglected; and upon this information went to My Lord Chancellor and gave him ane full accompt of our diligence against disorderly persons, representing that they had fined the haill fanatics for not keeping the church, and other ecclesiastical disorders, and had incarcerated several of them, and several had engaged to live regularly; and that the Lord Chancellor, knowing our diligence, called the Privy Council and ordered the Town of Linlithgow to be skored in the Earl of Linlithgow's commission. And siclike, declared that he made a redress to the Privy Council anent Mr Seton, minister, showing that his imprudence and negligence in his ministry was the cause of the

¹ *Burgh Records*

² *Ibid.*

disorders in the place, and that he gave in a Bill to the Council against the Bishop of Edinburgh for not transporting Mr Seton according as was promised at the last visitation ; to which Bill Mr Seton gave in answers full of lies and untruths, and that the Council and Bishop had ordered a visitation to be at this place, the day not being yet condescended upon by the Bishop.”¹

On the 22nd April 1683, the Town Council resolved “to try anent the visitation when the same will be.” And they record in their minutes that “they will stand to the visitation and to the old libel against Mr Seton, *with any new additions the Provost thinks fit.*”²

The Revolution of 1688 gave a new Town Council to Linlithgow. The Provost was again a Stewart ; but Provost Walter Stewart of Pardovan, though related to Provost Robert Stewart through his mother, was on the opposite side from him both in politics and religion. And, as time proved, his accession to the Provost’s chair meant disaster to most of the officials of the Episcopal period. Among these doomed officials was Mr Seton. On the 9th of August 1690, the Council unanimously agreed to use their utmost endeavour for removing Mr Seton, late Episcopal incumbent, and on the 30th of the same month the Provost produced to the Council “an Act and sentence of deposition of the Presbytery of Linlithgow, dated 29th August instant, against Mr Alexander Seton, *pretended incumbent* of the parish of Linlithgow, deposing him of his function

¹ *Burgh Records.*

² *Ibid.*

and office, and appointing Mr Alexander Hastie, minister at Torphichen, to preach in the church upon Sunday come eight days, and to intimate the said Act of deposition. The Council appointed "Thomas Andrew to intimate the said Act presently to Mr Seton."¹

1691-1695. WILLIAM WEIR, A.M.—There was one service which Mr Seton had done to the Town Council of Linlithgow—he had taught them to look favourably on Mr William Weir, whom they had imprisoned, and cast out of the parish. Mr Weir, who since his departure in 1661 had ministered to a congregation in Ireland, returned to his native land and his old parish, this time to receive a unanimous call, not only from the Protesters within the parish, but also from the Town Council. In the minute-book of the latter it is recorded, under date 3rd November 1690: "The Council have all unanimously agreed that Mr William Weir shall be minister of Linlithgow, and ratifies his former call, and of new do call him to the ministry; and appoints a call to be drawn up and subscribed by the haill members of the Council, and appoints the Provost and Bailie Higgins to go to Edinburgh and present the call to Mr Weir. At his induction, *this time*, the Council gave a public dinner to the ministers."²

On the 31st May 1691, the Council subscribed an adherence and call to Mr William Weir. They also appointed his son Gavin, "a fit and learned person,"

¹ *Burgh Records.*

² *Ibid.*

to be schoolmaster. Lord Linlithgow had questioned the legality of Mr Weir's appointment; but being assured of its legality by Provost Stewart, he withdrew his objections. Some of the heritors, too, had favoured one of the late Episcopal incumbents, but as the feeling of the parish was running strongly in favour of Mr Weir, they concurred in his appointment.¹

That Mr Weir's call might be in proper form, it was necessary to create a Kirk-session, as the Revolution, evidently, had swept away the Kirk-session as well as the minister. For this purpose the Presbytery appointed Mr Michael Potter, minister at Bo'ness, to receive and admit certain persons to the eldership, which was done on Sunday, 21st June 1691. Among these persons was Walter Stewart of Pardovan, Provost of the burgh, Bailie Higgins, and John Beir.² This Session, on the day in which it was created, unanimously subscribed a call to Mr William Weir, who had at the time another call to the parish of East Calder. Between the 21st June and the 3rd July 1691 Mr Weir was inducted.³

At the first meeting of Session at which Mr Weir presided, the parish and burgh were divided into districts, and each district was assigned to the particular care of an elder, with a view to "the more strict and exact curbing of vice and encouragement of piety." As in former days the Session had dealt with persons who had resorted to field preachers for the purpose of being married, so now they were troubled with those

¹ *Burgh Records.*

² These three represented the Town Council.

³ *Burgh Records.*

who desired that their wedlock should be celebrated by deposed curates.¹ Mr Weir, now that he was in a position of authority, does not seem to have done more than "desire them to bring in a certificate of their marriage."

Mr Weir's second ministry in Linlithgow lasted for only four years, but during these four years he practically healed the division which had so long rent the congregation. If, betimes, he had to appeal to the magistrates "to cause their officer to keep the kirk quiet in time of sermon," or had to appoint the kirk-officer "to keep close the door upon the Sabbath day that no person may get liberty to go out before the blessing is said,"² yet, on the whole, he seems to have lived in the old burgh a life at once happy, useful, and honoured.

During the year 1692, Mr Weir raised an action against the heritors for an increase of stipend, in which effort he was aided by the Town Council. When the Decreet of Locality was obtained, the Council appointed their treasurer to get possession of it, "to be kept in the town's chest, and an exact attested double to be given to Mr Weir."³

The Town Council created Mr Weir a burgess of Linlithgow on the 15th of September 1694.⁴

Mr Weir was married to Catherine Lund, by whom he had at least two sons, Gavin and James, and one daughter, Jean, who became the wife of Mr John Waugh, a bailie of Linlithgow. He was

¹ *Session Records.*

³ *Burgh Records.*

² *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

a man of considerable wealth, who, when the Town Council were in difficulties, could accommodate them with the loan of 5000 merks. By his last will and testament he left £100 to the poor of Linlithgow.

Mr Weir died on the 1st day of July 1695, respected and regretted by all.

1699-1727. ALEXANDER DALGLEISH.—Mr Dalgleish was licensed by the Presbytery of Linlithgow on the 18th July 1688. He received a call to the parish of Abercorn in June 1689, and was ordained on the 1st of January 1690. He was called to Dunfermline on the 7th April 1697, but as the General Assembly refused to sanction his translation, it did not take place.¹

When Mr Weir died, there was considerable difficulty in finding a successor to him. This was not because of any division in the congregation, but from an apparent reluctance on the part of the Courts of the Church to comply with the wishes of the people. Ministers also, it would appear, were not particularly anxious to be transported to a burgh which had gained an unenviable notoriety for quarrelling, and where the living, to some extent, depended on the goodwill of the magistrates. After giving numerous calls, and receiving refusals—either from the ministers refusing to be transported to Linlithgow, or the Courts of the Church refusing to transport them—the Council (who, no doubt, were so far comforted by having obtained the stipend, during the long vacancy,

Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, part i., p. 165.

for public purposes) fixed their eyes upon Mr Alexander Dalgleish; and, as the Presbytery was pushing them to make some legal provision for a second minister, they agreed to do so, and granted a bond, binding themselves and their successors to pay for all time 650 merks annually, and £40 for house-maill, on condition (for they were determined not to be baulked once more) that "this Act shall take no effect in case the Presbytery of Linlithgow shall not transport Mr Alexander Dalgleish, minister of Abercorn, to be our minister."¹ The Presbytery, however, did transport Mr Dalgleish, whose induction to Linlithgow took place on the 31st May 1699.² The Presbytery, believing that, after numerous efforts, they had secured an adequate living for a second minister, inducted Mr Dalgleish "as *one of the ministers* of the town and parish of Linlithgow, according to the order of this church."³

During the ministry of Mr Dalgleish, all baptised parishioners of mature years who were free from scandal, were permitted to partake of the Holy Communion. Before each celebration of the Communion, the session met to consider "to whom tokens might be given, and to whom not."⁴

In the year 1705, the Kirk-session for the first time provided themselves with a copy of the *Confession of Faith*. On the 13th July of that year, it is recorded that the *Confession of Faith*, in folio, being

¹ *Burgh Records*.

² *Presbytery Records*; also Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, part i., p. 161.

³ *Presbytery Records*.

⁴ *Session Records*.

this day produced, with the formula prescribed by the General Assembly, 1694 years, written at the end thereof, the ministers and all the elders present did cheerfully subscribe the said Confession of Faith, as the confession of their faith, and the foresaid formula subjoined thereto.”¹

In the beginning of the year 1706, there was a strange scene in Linlithgow Church. “Mr John Smith, gentleman servant to the Countess Dowager of Linlithgow, came into the church, and in the face of the congregation, in the very time of the singing of psalms, did beat some of the people belonging to the country parish with his staff, without any offence given, or provocation for his doing so.”² This conduct, of course, necessitated some action on the part of the Kirk-session. They “recommended to the ministers to go to the Countess and acquaint her with her servant’s misbehaviour, and that such scandalous conduct cannot be past over, and to report her mind and answer with respect thereto” to them. Her ladyship declared that “she was sorry for her servant’s miscarriage, and that he had no order from her for doing so ; but alleged that he was provoked to it, and that she herself was wronged anent her loft in the church.”³

The session, in the year 1707, entered into negotiations with Mr John Montgomerie of Wrae, with the view of purchasing a portion of the lands of Magdalenes, “providing the laird would give a good cheap pennyworth of it.” The laird being found

¹ *Session Records.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

willing to sell, the session purchased "35 acres of land of his lands of Magdalenes and teinds thereof, for payment to him of nineteen years' purchase, according to the present rental, which is three chalders, thirteen bolls, and one firloft bear and meal, which at one hundred pounds for each chalders extends to the sum of seven thousand two hundred and seventy-three pounds, eight shillings, and nine pennies Scots, and in real warrandice of these principal lands they were to be infeft in certain lands of Wrae." This is the origin of the *Session Lands* which were bought by the Session, as providing a safe investment for moneys in their hands, accumulated from many different sources, and which money, from time immemorial, they have used at their discretion for the poor, for education, for the support of bursars at the university, for church purposes, for special collections ordered by the General Assembly, and for all conceivable purposes which, at the time, might seem to them a suitable mode of expending it.¹

Mr Dalgleish was married on the 27th of October 1702, to Susanna, daughter of Duncan Campbell of Auchlyne, and had two sons and four daughters. He

¹ The *Session Records* furnish numerous examples. One may be given here, as showing the view taken by the Town Council, of the source of this money:—"15th March 1633.—The quhillk day the Provost, Bailies, and Council, understanding and considering how that the house beside the palace called the Sang Schule is very indecent and uncomly, being so near the king's palace; For helping whereof, ordains the same house, with all convenient diligence, to be sufficiently roofed, slated, spargit, and penneit, and ane dyke to be biggit betwixt the said house and the schule, of the height of three ellis or ten quarters, and that *upon the expense of the Eleemosynar, seeing the same is appointed for pious uses.*"—*Burgh Records*.

died 30th May 1726, in the thirty-seventh year of his ministry.

1727-1758. ROBERT DALGLEISH, M.A.—Mr Dalgleish was a son of Mr Alexander Dalgleish, minister of Linlithgow, whom he succeeded. He was a native of Linlithgow, and was in all probability educated at the Grammar School of the burgh. He afterwards studied at the University of Edinburgh, of which he became a graduate in Arts. On the 16th September 1719, he was licensed by the Presbytery of Linlithgow, and on the 18th November was called to the second charge, as colleague to his father. He was ordained on the 4th of August 1720. Shortly after the death of his father in 1726, he was called to the first charge, to which he was inducted on the 25th January of the following year.¹

Two important litigations are the outstanding features in the history of St Michael's during the ministry of Mr Robert Dalgleish. The first of these was between the Kirk-session and the Town Council of Linlithgow, as to which of these bodies had the right of appointing the precentor.² The decision was in favour of the Kirk-session. The other was a litigation between the trustees of the Ministers' Widows' Fund and the Town Council, as to the duty of the latter to settle a claim "of ten pounds sterling yearly, out of the six hundred and fifty merks payable by them to the second minister," which was made by

¹ Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, part i., p. 162.

² *Burgh and Session Records*. Cf. chapter on The Reader and Precentor, p. 248.

the former. The decision was in favour of the Town Council, and led to the discontinuance of the second charge.¹

It is during the ministry of Mr Robert Dalgleish that we first make the acquaintance of dissenters, other than Episcopalians, within the bounds of the Presbytery of Linlithgow. An elder of Falkirk Church was objected to on the ground that "he is a frequent attender of the Seceding meeting both within this parish of Falkirk and elsewhere." Mr Ebenezer Erskine of Stirling, and several other ministers of the same school, were frequently in the neighbourhood of Linlithgow, endeavouring to establish a congregation.² The result of their labours was the opening of a dissenting church in 1738 at Craigmailen, within the parish of Linlithgow, one of the earliest seceding churches in Scotland. For a long time this church served a wide district, stretching from Bo'ness to West Calder, and from Bathgate to Kirkliston. This district is now served by various churches, which claim Craigmailen as *their mother*. The church which is locally the successor, though one in another parish has taken the name, is the East United Free Church of Linlithgow.

Mr Dalgleish married Susanna Symers, and had two sons, William and Robert. William became a minister, and was settled at Livingstone. After a ministry of thirty-nine years, during the last ten of which he frequently suffered from infirm health,

¹ *Burgh and Session Records*. Cf. chapter on Second Charge, pp. 225-247.

² *Presbytery Records*.

Mr Dalgleish died on the 9th of August 1758, aged 65 years.¹

1759-1778. JAMES HOGG.—Mr Hogg was licensed by the Presbytery of Linlithgow on the 5th of March 1735. For some time after receiving license he acted as tutor to the sons of Sir Charles Douglas of Kellhead. On the 27th of November 1744 he was called to the parish of Kirkbean, and ordained on the 3rd December following. Having received a presentation from George II., he was translated to Linlithgow on the 8th of August 1759. Mr Hogg had a kindly welcome from the people of Linlithgow, the heritors, elders, and heads of families, on learning that His Majesty had presented him, having petitioned the Presbytery to proceed with his settlement.²

Mr Hogg's ministry in Linlithgow was uneventful. He earned for himself the reputation of being "a good man, of uncommon generosity." Having officiated as principal clerk of the General Assembly in 1762, he must have been regarded by his brethren as possessing good business talents. He was killed by a fall from his horse on the 6th of May 1778, in the thirty-fourth year of his ministry. He is referred to in the Council Records as "our late worthy pastor."³

1778-1791. JOHN SCOTLAND.—Mr Scotland was the son of John Scotland, a burgess and influential citizen of Dunfermline. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Dunfermline on the 12th of November

¹ Scott's *Fasti and Presbytery Records*.

² *Burgh Records*.

³ *Ibid.*

1760, presented to the parish of Eskdalemuir by Henry, Duke of Buccleuch, with consent of his curators, on the 3rd of August 1762, and ordained on the 6th of January 1763. On a presentation by the same patron, he was translated to Westerkirk on the 3rd of May 1768.

From a minute of the Town Council of Linlithgow, it appears that Mr Scotland was one of three ministers who offered themselves as candidates for supplying the vacancy in the parish of Linlithgow, and to whom the Presbytery granted liberty to preach, in order to give the parishioners an opportunity of hearing them. Of the three, the only one who preached was Mr Scotland, who gave such satisfaction that he received an unanimous call. The Town Council accordingly petitioned the Secretary of State in his favour, with the result that Mr Scotland was presented to Linlithgow by King George III., on the 26th of September, and inducted 17th of December 1778.¹

In 1783 the Town Council resumed possession of the Earl of Linlithgow's loft in the church, as, "on account of the failure of heirs of that noble family," it had, they say, "long since reverted to the Town, in terms of the original grant." Sir Alexander Livingstone of Westquarter wrote to the Council on the 3rd of October, "signifying that he, as representative of the Earl of Linlithgow, wished to possess the burying-place in the church, and the seat." The Council replied that "they had no proper right to the burying-place, and, in so far as their right goes, are

¹ *Burgh Records.*

willing to yield to Sir Alexander's request; but in regard to the seat or loft in the church, they consider themselves bound on oath and in duty to manage the funds and interests of the community to the best advantage, and therefore beg to be excused in not complying with Sir Alexander's letter on that head."¹

Mr Scotland must have been a popular preacher, as, during his ministry, the Town Council resolved to raise the rents of the pews; and in order that they might obtain the highest prices, they resorted to their customary device of holding "a roup of such pews as were not taken by present holders, at the prices which they fixed."²

On the death of Dr Robert Henry, in 1790, it was found that he had bequeathed his library to the Town Council and Presbytery of Linlithgow, as joint trustees.³ The library was a valuable one, but for various reasons, the chief of which was a fire which destroyed the larger portion of the volumes, the gift has become useless. Among the conditions attached to Dr Henry's gift was one, dealing specially with his MS. sermons, which was to the effect that they were "to be lodged in a drawer by themselves, of which the minister of Linlithgow for the time being shall keep the key, who shall have power to give out one volume at a time to such of the ministers of the Presbytery as are contributors, who shall have right

¹ *Burgh Records.*

² *Ibid.*

³ Dr Henry was one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and the author of a *History of Great Britain*. He spent his last years at Millfield, in the parish of Polmont.

to hold and keep the said volume for the space of six months, but not longer.”¹

Mr Scotland was presented by the Town Council of Edinburgh to New Greyfriars parish in July, and admitted by the Presbytery 13th October 1791. Accusations were publicly made to the effect that his presentation was the price paid for his father's support in a keen political contest waged in the burgh of Dunfermline ; but of this no proof was produced at the time, and it would be foolish to search for any now.² Mr Scotland terminated his life very sadly. In the delirium of fever he leapt from a high window of his house in Edinburgh, and was killed, 3rd May 1792, aged 57 years. His widow, Helen Miller, died 17th September 1793. Mr Scotland was the author of various sermons, one of them being on “The End of Preaching, and how to attain to it.” Two letters of his, dealing with the antiquities of Linlithgow, and especially the Nunnery of Manuel, have been preserved in General Hutton's collection, which is in the Advocate's Library, Edinburgh.

1792-1826. JAMES DOBIE, S.T.D.—Mr Dobie was licensed by the Presbyterian Church in England. He was received into the Church of Scotland by the Presbytery of Kelso on the 3rd of January 1773, as a preacher within their bounds. On a vacancy occurring in the parish of Mid-Calder, he was presented to it by the tutors of James, Lord Torphichen, in

¹ Dr Henry's will, as quoted in the *Burgh Records*.

² See an extraordinary attack made on the Scotlands from the pulpit of Dunfermline Church, reported in the *Scots Magazine*, vol. xxxvi., pp. 620-21.

April 1773, and ordained and admitted on the 27th of July of the same year.¹

The Town Council of Linlithgow, when the parish became vacant, through the translation of Mr Scotland to New Greyfriars, Edinburgh, endeavoured "to prevent the promise of a presentation being given to any person but such as should be found acceptable to them, and the parishioners at large."² They even agreed to hear a leet before Mr Scotland had left the parish, that they, after hearing the candidates and collecting the inclinations of the town and parish at large, might instruct their Member of Parliament to apply for a presentation in his favour. The result of this effort was that Mr Hugh Meiklejohn, minister of Abercorn, had a large majority of heads of families in his favour, and that the Council agreed to write the Secretary of State, requesting that he should be presented.

The Secretary of State, in acknowledging the letter, reminded the magistrates that they paid no stipend, and that it was impossible for them not to feel that it would be proper for him to consult the heritors, who did.³ The Council then proceeded to secure the suffrages of the heritors in favour of Mr Meiklejohn, and such was their success, that in their next letter they were in a position to inform the Secretary of State that "a very great majority of heritors concur with us for Mr Meiklejohn."

The Secretary of State had also been appealed to by certain influential heritors in favour of a Mr

¹ Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, part i., p. 162.

² *Burgh Records*.

³ *Ibid.*

Wilson. Being unable to gratify both parties, he recommended Mr James Dobie, minister of Mid-Calder, for presentation, with the result that King George III. presented Mr Dobie to the parish in April 1791, and he was inducted on the 15th of June following. Mr Dobie's presentation seems to have been fairly acceptable to both parties, who united in petitioning the Presbytery to moderate in a call to him. Mr Meiklejohn, on whom the magistrates and parishioners had set their hearts, had the honour of preaching and presiding at the induction.¹

Shortly after his admission Mr Dobie raised the old and vexed question of a manse. This question had occupied the attention of several of Mr Dobie's predecessors, but, for one reason or another, legal action had never been taken. The question was complicated by various circumstances, particularly by this, that the landward heritors had given to the magistrates the sum of £1000 Scots to relieve them from all liability, and that the magistrates, having spent the money, were anxious to repudiate their bargain and throw the whole burden on the heritors. Mr Dobie appealed to the Presbytery, who appointed a committee to confer with the heritors and Town Council on the matter. But when all peaceable measures failed, the Presbytery decerned for a manse, and ordered the heritors to provide one. This led to an appeal being taken by the heritors and Town Council to the civil courts, with the result that the Court of Session (24th November 1801) found that

¹ *Burgh and Presbytery Records.*

"the charger is entitled to no more than 100 merks yearly, in lieu of a manse or house, from the magistrates and Town Council of Linlithgow, and therefore suspends the letters *simpliciter* as to the heritors of the parish, assoilzies the magistrates and Town Council from the conclusions of the process of relief, and decerns."¹

Against this interlocutor Mr Dobie presented a reclaiming petition, and having meanwhile provided the Court with an excerpt from the Council Records, showing that the minister of Linlithgow had at one time had a manse, he succeeded in obtaining a decision in his favour. The manse was accordingly built during the years 1803-4, the Town Council unanimously declaring that "it was expressly against their inclinations that the minister of the parish should have his residence beyond the limits of the burgh."² Notwithstanding this assertion of his rights, Mr Dobie enjoyed the esteem of the Town Council as well as of his parishioners generally, the Council in 1806 having presented "their worthy pastor," on the occasion of his being honoured with the degree of S.T.D., with a pulpit robe as a mark of the esteem and regard which they had for him "on account of his great attention, usefulness, and faithfulness in the discharge of the very important duties of his office."³

During the ministry of Dr Dobie the church was removed from the nave to the chancel, the latter being furnished with galleries and pews at very

¹ *Burgh Records and Court of Session Cases.*

² *Burgh Records.*

³ *Ibid.*

considerable cost. It was also during Dr Dobie's ministry that it became necessary to remove the Imperial crown from the tower.¹

Dr Dobie died on the 10th of November 1826. He was a man fond of social life, full of humour—many of his witty sayings being still current in the parish—but withal a faithful pastor. The Town Council in recording his death, refer to him as “their late venerable minister.”

Dr Dobie was the author of the account of the parish of Linlithgow, published in Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, and also of various sermons preached on special occasions.

1827-1862. ANDREW BELL, D.D.—On a vacancy occurring in the parish through the death of Dr Dobie, three candidates appeared on the scene, viz., Mr Andrew Bell, minister of Torphichen, Dr George Burns, ex-minister of St John's, New Brunswick, and Mr Robert Johnston, a probationer, each having persons in the parish or neighbourhood interested in his candidature. The Town Council resolved to support the candidature of Mr Bell. They accordingly petitioned in his favour, and as the heritors were at one with them in supporting Mr Bell, the Provost, on 16th December 1826, was in a position to read a letter from Sir Robert Peel, intimating that His Majesty (George IV.) “had been graciously pleased to give directions for the appointment of the Reverend Andrew Bell to be

¹ Cf. Chap. VIII., pp. 105-112, and pp. 116-119.

minister of the parish of Linlithgow, in room of Dr Dobie deceased."¹

Mr Bell was the son of Mr John Bell, farmer at Tarvit, in Fife. Having studied at the University of St Andrews, he was licensed by the Presbytery of that ancient city on the 31st December 1817. Mr Bell was presented to the parish of Torphichen by James, Lord Torphichen, in November 1821, and ordained on the 28th of March 1822. After a five years' ministry in Torphichen, he was presented by George IV. to the parish of Linlithgow, to which he was admitted 20th June 1827.

During the ministry of Mr Bell, the window of the church known as St Catherine's window was restored.²

Mr Bell had the degree of D.D. conferred upon him by the University of St Andrews on the 10th of July 1842. He took an active part in the great controversy which resulted in the secession of the Free Church from the Church of Scotland, in 1843; but, as from first to last he supported consistently the constitutional or moderate party, he won the respect even of those who seceded. In 1849 Dr Bell was proposed for the Moderatorship of the General Assembly, and supported by a minority of 75, in opposition to the minister of Kirknewton. He was appointed Moderator of the Assembly of 1855. In 1861 Dr Bell married Clementina Napier, widow of Henry Glasford, Esq., of Dougalston. He died 27th February 1862.³

¹ *Burgh Records*.

² *Cf.* pp. 119-120.

³ *Presbytery Records* and Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, part i., p. 162.

Dr Bell was much esteemed by the people of Linlithgow for his personal qualities. Even in his old age he had his parishioners so well in hand that very few of them joined the Free Church at the Secession. His social qualities made him a welcome guest at the homes of his heritors and well-to-do parishioners on festive occasions. He is remembered still by a few aged parishioners, all of whom invariably speak of him as having been "a perfect gentleman."

1862-1869. DONALD McLEOD, D.D.—Dr McLeod is the son of the Rev. Norman McLeod, D.D., minister of Campsie, and Dean of the Chapel Royal. He was educated at various schools, and at the University of Glasgow, of which he became a B.A. in 1849. Shortly after receiving license from the Presbytery of Glasgow, he was presented to the parish of Lauder, to which he was ordained by the Presbytery of Earlston in 1858. In 1862 he was presented to the parish of Linlithgow, and inducted on the 10th of July, in succession to Dr Bell.

During his ministry in Linlithgow Dr McLeod did much excellent work of a kind which had not been attempted before. He founded a Sunday school in connection with St Michael's, and established *Sunday classes* for the education of 'prentice lads. In these classes secular as well as religious instruction was given, and though in those days some aged parishioners looked upon the classes as a profanation of the Lord's day, yet the lads, who through them learned to read

and write, now become old men, gratefully remember Dr McLeod's efforts in their behalf.

Dr McLeod was called to the Park Church, Glasgow, in 1869, to succeed the Reverend A. H. Charteris, who had been appointed Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Edinburgh. He received the degree of D.D. from the University of Glasgow in 1874, and was chosen Moderator of the General Assembly of 1895. Dr McLeod succeeded his famous brother, Norman McLeod, in the editorship of *Good Words*, an appointment which he has held ever since, and the duties of which he has discharged with conspicuous ability. He was Convener of the Home Mission Committee from 1880 until 1900. Besides the labours of his parish and of his editorship, Dr McLeod has found time to write several works. Of these, the most important are : *Memoirs* of his brother, Norman McLeod, of the Barony parish of Glasgow ; *Sunday Home Services, Christ and Society*, and *The Doctrine and Validity of the Ministry and Sacraments of the National Church of Scotland*.

Dr McLeod was appointed a Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen in 1872, an office which he still holds.

On the 23rd of August 1864, Dr McLeod, while minister of Linlithgow, married Isabella Anderson, daughter of James Anderson, Esq., of Highholm, Renfrewshire, and has four sons and one daughter.

1869-1871. ARCHIBALD SCOTT, D.D.—Dr Scott was born on the 18th of September 1837, and is a

son of Mr James Scott, a farmer in the parish of Cadder. He was educated at the parish school of Cadder, afterwards at the High School, and the University of Glasgow. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Glasgow in 1859. His first charge was the East parish of Perth, to which he was ordained in 1860. From Perth he was translated to Abernethy in 1863; from Abernethy to Maxwell parish, Glasgow, in 1865; and from Maxwell parish, Glasgow, to Linlithgow on the 23rd September 1869. During Dr Scott's brief ministry in Linlithgow he had not time to inaugurate any new movement, either for the better working of the parish or the restoration of the church (though the latter was being discussed), but his preaching was marked by such ability and eloquence, and his pastoral visitation discharged with such efficiency, that the parishioners felt they could not expect to retain his services for any length of time. He was called from Linlithgow to Greenside parish, Edinburgh, in 1871, and from Greenside parish to St George's (his present charge) in 1880. Dr Scott had the degree of D.D. conferred on him by the University of Glasgow in 1876. He was elected to the Moderator's chair of the General Assembly of 1896. Dr Scott is possessed of exceptional business ability, a talent which the Church has acknowledged by having, for many years, entrusted him with the responsible position of Convener of the Business Committee of the General Assembly.

Amid his many arduous labours Dr Scott has found time to publish various works. Of these the

principal are : *Buddhism and Christianity, a Parallel and a Contrast ; Sacrifice, its Prophecy and Fulfilment ; Endowed Territorial Work ; Our Opportunities and Responsibilities, or Lectures in Pastoral Theology.*

Dr Scott has been twice married ; first, on the 4th of June 1861, to Isabella, daughter of Mr Robert Greig, Perth, by whom he had four sons and two daughters ; and secondly, to Marion, daughter of the Very Rev. James Rankin, D.D., minister of Sorn.

1872-1876. THOMAS BROWN WILLIAM NIVEN, D.D.—Dr Niven is the second son of the late Reverend Alexander Niven, M.A., minister of Balfon. He was educated privately, and at the University of Edinburgh. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Dumbarton on the 18th May 1858. After serving as an assistant for some time in the parish of St George's, Edinburgh, he was presented by the Right Hon. The Earl of Stair to the parish of Cranstoun, to which he was ordained by the Presbytery of Dalkeith on the 7th of October 1859. From Cranstoun he was translated to St Mary's (the Tron) parish of Glasgow, and inducted on 5th September 1868, in succession to the Very Rev. James McGregor, D.D., now of St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh. After a ministry of over three years in St Mary's, he was translated to Linlithgow on the 16th of May 1872.

During his ministry in Linlithgow Dr Niven, by introducing hymns, and strengthening the choir, greatly improved the psalmody of the church. The introduction of an organ was under consideration,

and though the proposal met with opposition even in the Kirk-session, it was supported by a great majority of the members of the church, and a bazaar was organised to provide the necessary funds for securing one. Having solved the *musical* problem, Mr Niven agitated the larger one of restoring the church ; but, from the difficulties in his way, and the powerful prejudices to be overcome, failure was almost inevitable.

Dr Niven was translated from Linlithgow to the parish of Pollokshields, Glasgow (then only a mission chapel), on the 20th June 1876. In 1893 he was honoured by the University of Edinburgh with the degree of D.D. Dr Niven is one of the authors of *The History of the Church of Scotland, Past and Present*, edited by Principal Story, having written the history of the period "From the Revolution to the Present Time" for that important work.

Dr Niven married, in 1867, Alice, daughter of the late Lieut.-General George McKenzie Stuart, and has three sons and three daughters.

1876-1878. JAMES BARCLAY, D.D.—Dr Barclay, who is a native of Paisley, was born on the 19th of June 1844. He is the third son of the late Mr James Barclay, Paisley, and afterwards Edinburgh. He was educated at Paisley Grammar School, at Merchiston Castle School, Edinburgh, and at the University of Glasgow, of which he is a graduate in Arts. Shortly after receiving license, Mr Barclay was called to the parish of St Michael's, Dumfries, to

which he was ordained on the 29th of June 1871. From St Michael's, Dumfries, he was translated to Canonbie in 1874; and from Canonbie to Linlithgow in 1876.

During his very brief ministry in Linlithgow Dr Barclay carried through the bazaar organised by his predecessor, and saw the organ, for which the bazaar was held, introduced into the church. He also succeeded in having the *whitewash* removed from the chancel.

Dr Barclay's reputation as a preacher and a worker secured for him a call to St Cuthbert's parish, Edinburgh, to which he was inducted in 1878, and where he laboured with great acceptance for a few years. Since 1883 he has been minister of St Paul's Church, Montréal. A few years ago Mr Barclay had the degree of D.D. conferred on him by the University of Glasgow—his *alma mater*.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SECOND CHARGE—1630-1751

“We may outrun,
By violent swiftmess, that which we run at,
And lose by over-running.”—SHAKESPEARE.

FROM 1630 until 1751 there was a second charge in Linlithgow.

The Rev. Hew Scott, in his very useful work entitled *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, dates this second charge from the year 1567. But even if it could be traced so far back, obviously it would be a mistake to make, as Scott has done, Mr Peter Hamilton, reader at Kinneil, its first occupant. Kinneil was never a part of the parish of Linlithgow—the ancient pre-Reformation church of Kinneil having been the property of the monks of Holyrood, whereas Linlithgow belonged to the Priory of St Andrews. A more serious error into which Scott has fallen, is in making Mr Robert Cornwall the first minister who filled the second charge. Cornwall was only a *second minister* in the sense in which every helper and successor is a second minister. When Mr Patrick Kinloquhy had

been minister of Linlithgow for nearly forty years, and had become too old and infirm to discharge the duties of his ministry, James VI. presented Mr Robert Cornwall, minister of Ecclesmachan, to the cure.

The earliest reference to a second minister in Linlithgow occurs in the year 1630. On the 23rd of April of that year, the magistrates and Town Council, "considering the great necessity they have of ane second minister, to serve the town at the Kirk for the weal of their souls," appointed a committee "to confer with the heritors, to seek their advice for placing of ane second minister, and their help whereby he shall be entertained."¹ At a meeting of the Council held in 1631, "the Provost, Bailies, and Council, considering the great necessity they have for ane second minister, all in ane voice promised to assist, both with their counsel and means, to the obtaining of a second minister," and the Council requested "the Provost and Bailies to continue their efforts to obtain one."²

While the Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council were considering their great need of a second minister, and the method in which to raise his salary, Mr John Cornwall, minister of the parish at the time, had on his own responsibility provided them with one. Mr Cornwall, though acting in this somewhat high-handed manner, evidently expected the Town Council to pay the second minister, or, at least, to assist in paying him. And at first they were not seriously disinclined to do so, for on the 19th December 1634, they "ordain

¹ *Burgh Records.*

² *Ibid.*

their Treasurer to pay Mr Andrew Stewart, for the great pains he takes in preaching the word of God within the kirk of the burgh, twenty dollars at Candlemas next to come.”¹ Nothing further is heard of the second minister till the year 1638, when the Dean of Guild is appointed “to confer with the Deacons of the Crafts to ascertain what willingly they will undergo to pay yearly for a provision to a good and sufficient man to become second minister.”²

Between the date of the above minute and the 22nd of October of the same year, a change of feeling on the part of the Town Council towards Mr Andrew Stewart had taken place. It may, of course, have existed for some time, though it becomes evident in their official records only at this stage. This feeling cannot be better explained than in the Council's own words. “The same day (22nd October 1638), the Council, having perpended the supplication given in to them by Mr Andrew Stewart, desiring consideration of the town for his service of the cure at the kirk of Linlithgow, they find that they are not obliged, nor yet that it is due to them, to grant him any consideration for his foresaid service, in respect that Mr John Cornwall, minister, has taken order with him, and shall satisfy him according to his promise.”³ Mr Cornwall seems to have asked the advice and assistance of the Presbytery, for, in the end of the following year, a deputation from that court waited on the Town Council with respect to the matter. “The which day (13th December 1639), compeared in

¹ *Burgh Records.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

presence of the said Provost, Bailies, and Council, Walter Cornwall of Bonhard, and Mr Richard Dickson, minister at Kinneil, alleged sent by the Presbytery of Linlithgow, to the effect under written : and there they earnestly supplicated and desired the said Provost and Council to take to heart and consider the great pains Mr Andrew Stewart has taken in the supplying and helping of Mr John Cornwall, their minister, in preaching of the word of God to them at their kirk these many years bygane, and that without any or little recompense made to him by them therefor : and that they will, therefore, in some considerable form and manner, conform to his foresaid service and pains taken, satisfy and recompense him in supplying and helping of their said minister. The said Provost, Bailies, and Council having heard their said supplication—and they being removed until they heard their answer—they, after due trial, search, and examination of the said supplication, have found that the said Mr Andrew Stewart, without any acquaintance of the Council, or their consent obtained, was brought in by the said Mr John Cornwall for his help, and that they agreed betwixt themselves what satisfaction he should have for his pains ; and that the Council never could condescend or agree to give him any satisfaction for his foresaid service, nor would come in terms with him therefor, he having many times urged them for that effect by his manifold supplications before, and that whatever they gave to him before was given by them to him out of pity conceived upon his impotency, and being a town's bairn, but in no terms nor manner

of way the same was given to him for his pains at the said kirk (not remembering to him any of his pains), when anything was delivered by them to him. And also considering of the said Mr Andrew, his uttering of manifold railings and backbitings (not comely by a preacher of God's word) against the said town and inhabitants thereof, sundry times come to their ears and knowledge: Therefore the said Provost, Bailies, and Council, after incalling of the foresaid persons, supplicators, altogether refused for the reasons and causes foresaid and others, in any supply or help to the said Mr Andrew Stewart for his helping of the said minister—they being no ways obliged to grant him any, or he deserving none of their hands. And further, the said Provost, Bailies, and Council, all in one voice, have concluded and ordained altogether to refuse any help or supply to whatsoever person, or persons, to be brought in by their present minister, or his successors, for helping of them in the service of the cure at the said kirk, without the said Council's advice and consent had, obtained, and granted for their admission."¹

With the above minute the curtain falls on Mr Andrew Stewart. Whether he discharged any duties, other than those of preaching and visiting, it is impossible to say. The Records of the Kirk-session, which, in all likelihood, would have supplied such information, do not begin till 1646. In those of the Presbytery, which begin in 1610, there is an unfortunate hiatus at the date in question, owing to a volume

¹ *Burgh Records.*

having been lost. Stewart was a native of Linlithgow, and might for his farewell sermon have appropriately selected the text, "A prophet is not without honour, save in his own country, and in his own house."

After consultation with the gentlemen of the out-parish (31st March 1641), the magistrates were in a position to provide "ane colleague with Mr John Cornwall, present minister" of Linlithgow. They set their affections on Mr David Drummond, minister of Muckhart, and appointed commissioners (1st April 1642) to attend the Synod of Perth and Stirling with the view of procuring his *transportation* to Linlithgow. In this they were successful, and Mr Drummond was inducted to the second charge on the 21st April 1642.¹

Having procured a second minister, the Council then took steps to provide him with a stipend. For this purpose, they divided the burgh into four quarters, which they regularly visited to receive contributions from the inhabitants. The north-east quarter was less willing than the others to bear its share; and, again and again, there are references to it like the following: "The North-east quarter to be warned again to see what they will offer and undertake to give yearly."² Shortly after Mr Drummond's appointment, the first minister, Mr John Cornwall, appeared at, "and showed to the Council that he had been in use to receive from the good town, out of their guidness, forty pounds yearly, and now in respect that he, as was well known, had denuded himself in favour of

¹ *Burgh and Presbytery Records.*

² *Burgh Records.*

Mr David Drummond of ane guid pairt of his stipend due to him, therefore he desired that they would yet continue their favour, and give orders to the Treasurer to pay the same to him," which the Council "all in ane voice" resolved to do.¹ Thus it appears that the Council at this time, besides paying 400 merks as stipend and £40 as house-maill to the *second minister*, paid £40 to the first. Though the second minister's stipend was raised by voluntary contributions, there were frequently *citations* addressed to such burgesses as refused to pay, to compear before the Council.

Mr Drummond was translated to the first charge on the 6th May 1646, and Mr Thomas Inglis was called to fill the second on the 26th April 1648.² There had, therefore, been a vacancy in the second charge of nearly two years, during which time the Magistrates, by a fixed rule of their own making, paid no stipend. The stipend paid by the burgh to Mr Inglis was 400 merks, with £40 for house-maill. He, no doubt, had also a certain sum from the first minister, as per Decreet of *Locality*, and probably 250 merks from the landward heritors. Mr Inglis had a brief career in Linlithgow, as, being a confirmed Malignant, he refused to preach against "the unlawful Engagement," and was deposed on the 27th September 1648. The deposition of Mr Drummond, the first minister, for the same offence, took place a week later, amid stormy protests on the part of the

¹ *Burgh Records*.

² *Presbytery Records*; and Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, part i., p. 162.

parishioners, and both parish and burgh were thus left without a minister.¹

On the 31st January 1650, Mr Ephraim Melvill, a grandson of James Melvill the autobiographer, and a great-grandnephew of the celebrated Andrew Melvill, was translated from South Queensferry to Linlithgow.² On the 1st of June following, the Town Council had before them the question: "How our minister may be eased with a helper, and how ane competent stipend agreeable to the Acts of Parliament shall be provided to him?"³ Nothing, however, resulted from their consideration of it, as the congregation shortly afterwards became divided into Resolutioners and Protesters. Mr Melvill adhered to the Protesters, as did a considerable section of the Presbytery, and a majority of the congregation of Linlithgow. During his ministry, which lasted from the beginning of 1650 till April 1653, when he died, there was no second minister.

From 1653 until 1655, the Protesters had two ministers, Mr Alexander Guthrie and Mr William Weir, and the Resolutioners none. The Resolutioners, however, were very busy trying to secure the restoration of their former ministers, Drummond and Inglis; and, though they did not succeed in this, they contrived to withdraw the people from, and stir them up against, the protesting regime. The Protesters, being denied the use of the church, were under the necessity of agreeing with John Calder

¹ Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, part i., pp. 159 and 162. Cf. p. 172.

² *Queensferry Session Records* and *Presbytery Records*.

³ *Burgh Records*.

for the use of his barn, "wherein the public worship now is," and for which they paid 100 merks per annum.¹ How hard the fight was which they had to sustain with the magistrates, who were Resolutioners, may be learned from the following minute: "Joan Young, cited for fornication, refused to compear, declaring that Andrew Duncan, bailie, had threatened her, saying if she compeared before *that* session she should be put furth of the town."² Moreover, at a conference held between representatives of both parties (26th March 1655), the Resolutioners declared that the Protesters had "brought in two [ministers] already with the sword, and if they should bring in a third, they should get as much means with the English as to keep him out; and if they should get no favour by them, *they should make broken heads at his inbringing, be wha he would be.*"³

On the death of Mr Guthrie (March 1655), Mr Weir became first minister, and Mr William Brown was elected by the protesting Session to fill the vacancy in the second charge. Mr Brown was only an *expectant* at the time of his election. The Session, in choosing him, say that "they have convincing evidence of his holiness and abilities," and they beseech the Presbytery, "in the bowels of Jesus Christ, as they tender the salvation of souls in this place, and with all possible diligence, that they put the said Mr William upon trial of his qualifications in order to the said charge."⁴ Meanwhile the Resolu-

¹ *Session Records.*

³ *Burgh Records.*

² *Ibid.*

⁴ *Session Records.*

tioners had got into communication with Mr James Ramsay, minister of Kirkintilloch, and were equally urgent in their demand to have him settled as minister of Linlithgow.¹ Linlithgow thus became the unhappy possessor of three ministers—two first, Ramsay (Resolutioner) and Weir (Protester), and one second, Brown (Protester). Neither party at this time had the use of the church, which was in the hands of Cromwell's soldiers; but, as the Resolutioners went "to the Commander-in-chief to entreat for the church to preach in," General Monk agreed that each party should have the half of it, and each of the two first ministers the half of the stipend, namely, £53, 5s. 8d.² Brown's career in Linlithgow was very brief, and such was the "non-subjection of the bodie of the people to his ministry," that it would have been briefer had the protesting Presbytery consented to his demitting his charge. His removal left two first ministers, but Mr William Weir, after "being imprisoned by Provost Glen for refusing to deliver to the magistrates the church registers," was removed by the Synod in 1661, leaving Mr James Ramsay sole minister of the parish, and the Provost and Magistrates victors in the fray.³

From the date at which Mr Brown left until the settlement of his successor, there were many conferences held between the Magistrates and the "gentlemen of the out-parish" as to the necessity for a second minister. The principal difficulty was the stipend. Meanwhile another difficulty arose

¹ *Burgh Records.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Cf.* Chapter XII., pp. 185-189.

Episcopacy having been established, Mr James Ramsay, who had rendered himself somewhat notorious by burning *The Solemn League and Covenant* at the Cross of Linlithgow, was promoted to the Deanery of Hamilton (10th December 1664), and the first charge thus becoming vacant, it was impossible for the magistrates to do anything towards filling the second.¹

The minister appointed to fill the first charge, in succession to Mr James Ramsay, was Mr Alexander Seton, who did not wish a colleague; but as he and the Magistrates lived at constant warfare, *his* reluctance probably whetted *their* desire to have one. After considerable delay, and frequent conferences with the "gentlemen of the out-parish," and with Sir Walter Seton of Carriden, "our minister's brother, the only person whom we look to for composing our differences," the Council at length heard Mr John Burnett "preach to their contentment," and unanimously agreed to "hasten his ordination."² The heritors and Kirk-session also concurred unanimously, and on the 9th January 1673, Mr John Burnett was ordained and admitted second minister of Linlithgow by the Right Reverend Father in God, Alexander, Lord Bishop of Edinburgh, at which admission there were present among others the Bishop of the Isles, the Presbytery of Linlithgow, and Mr Gilbert Burnett, Professor of Divinity in the College of Glasgow.³ Mr Burnett received a call to Culross in 1675, which he accepted. During his ministry in Linlithgow he made an effort to

¹ *Burgh Records*. Cf. Chap. XII., pp. 189-192.

² *Burgh Records*.

³ *Ibid.*

secure a stipend other than a voluntary one, by charging the heritors to compear before the Commission for the planting of kirks. The Town Council continued the action, even after Mr Burnett, having accepted the call from Culross, ceased to be personally interested in it. On the 13th November 1675, the Council, on hearing of Mr Burnett's call, minute that, "whether he be minister or not, the Council think it expedient that a stipend should be settled to him, and because that there is ane clause contained in the Decreet of Locality, that there is nothing to be paid by the heritors but the *stipend modified to the first and second ministers*, the Council thinks it necessary to take the advice of advocates how to proceed therein."¹ All other methods having failed, the Council in 1723 fell upon the novel one of paying the second minister by putting "two pence on each pint of ale and beer brewed or sold within the burgh," for which arrangement they received a new gift under the Great Seal, which gift was to last "during the space of eleven years."²

A visitation of the church was held by the Lord Bishop of Edinburgh on the 30th December 1686, at which it was agreed that "there should be a second minister, and that he should be paid as formerly, namely, 350 merks by the first minister, according to his Decreet of locality; 400 merks by the burgh of Linlithgow, and an allowance for a house to him; and 250 merks by the landward heritors, making in all a

¹ *Burgh Records*.

² Act of Parliament, dated 1723. Besides making provision for the second minister, the Act was granted for the purpose of enabling the town to meet its liabilities, etc.

thousand merks and a house. And the minister was with all diligence to be looked for, and a contract to be passed betwixt him, the town, and the heritors foresaid, and the first minister, in the terms above mentioned, which contract is to continue only during the second minister's life or incumbency." On the 27th of August 1687, the Council "unanimously approve of Mr Patrick Trent being called, and settled here as our second minister." Afterwards they proceeded to proportion the 400 merks on the crafts, and as the tailors' craft was recalcitrant, they, "for encouragement of the tailors for paying their proportion of the second minister's stipend, appoint a band of 50 merks Scots, granted by George Menzies to the trade—and which they, fifteen years since, gave up to the town, upon ane accompt of a fine upon their trade—to be redelivered back to the Deacon of the Tailors for the use of the craft."¹ On the 31st of October, "the Council appoints the Treasurer to give 200 merks to Mr Trent, for defraying the expense of *transportation* of his wife, bairns, servants, and plenishing from the burgh of Haddington to this burgh."² On the 7th November 1687, My Lord Linlithgow, being Provost, proposed to the Council "that the stipend obliged by them to Mr Patrick Trent, their second minister, should, for the town's relief, be levied off the burgesses, what they should voluntarily offer."³ The Council also recommended the Magistrates "to draw an exact list of all the lease-holders within the burgh that are not incorporated in trades, and thereafter to go

¹ *Burgh Records.*² *Ibid.*³ *Ibid.*

through and desire them to subscribe what they are voluntarily content to give, and that the bailie mark in a paper apart the names of all that shall refuse to contribute."¹ On the 15th of July of the same year, the Council "appoints the Bailies, with all diligence, to make an exact list of the whole householders and masters of families within the burgh that are not incorporated with trades, and thereafter to go to each of them with the *band* subscribed by the Council for Mr Trent, second minister, and desire them to subscribe the same, and to take particular notice of those that shall refuse voluntarily to contribute for relieving the Magistrates of their engagement for the foresaid stipend, that they *may be stinted therefor according to their abilities*."² Again, on the 14th July 1688, the Council, considering that "there are many of the burgesses within the burgh that refuse to contribute for payment of the second minister's stipend that the town is engaged for, and that the foresaid refusers does laugh at those who'll willingly contribute, therefore the Council recommends to the Committee to stint all of them."³ In the meantime, a revolution in the State, which was pending, took place in 1689, and as Mr Patrick Trent declined to pray for King William and Queen Mary, and continued to pray for King James, he was deprived of his living by the Privy Council on the 15th August of that year.⁴ The Town Council of Linlithgow had anticipated the decision of the Privy Council by three months, for on the 11th of May they

¹ *Burgh Records*.² *Ibid.*³ *Ibid.*⁴ Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, part i., p. 163.

unanimously decreed that "Mr Patrick Trent, second minister, shall have no more stipend from the town, or from the Trades after Whitsunday next."¹ They also settled their long dispute with Mr Alexander Seton, the first minister, by accusing him before the Presbytery on the 29th August 1690, which court being now freed from Episcopal supervision, had no reluctance in giving effect to their wishes by deposing the "pretended incumbent."² Thus both charges became vacant once more.

Mr Trent, though deprived of his living, did not cease to take an interest in Linlithgow. On the 16th April 1704, there is the following minute in the Records of the Kirk-session respecting him, viz., "The Kirk-session, considering that Mr Patrick Trent, late Episcopal incumbent in this burgh, does frequently exercise his ministry therein—which may tend to the increase of schism and separation in the place—they therefore recommend to the ministers to advise with the Presbytery on the matter."³ Again, on the 23rd April 1704, the Presbytery, "having considered the same, and being informed that there is an Act of Privy Council prohibiting and discharging the said Mr Patrick Trent to preach, or perform any part of the ministerial office within the parish of Linlithgow—they did recommend to the Magistrates of this burgh to see the said Act put in due execution, that schism may be prevented."⁴ Further, on the 18th January 1708, "the session, considering that some persons of

¹ *Burgh Records.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Session Records.*

⁴ *Presbytery Records.*

the Episcopal persuasion in this town, in a schismatical way, and in order to procure subscriptions to maintain one of the late Episcopal incumbents for preaching in a separate meeting-house, they do unanimously resolve and declare they will do all they can to suppress, discourage, and prevent the same.¹ And in the meantime they recommend to Mr Alexander Dalgleish and Pardovan,² to advise this week with the members of the Commission of the late General Assembly at Edinburgh, and other fit persons, anent what may be done for getting this design suppressed. And they recommend likewise to the Magistrates of the burgh to advise with the Queen's advocate how to effect the same." Again, on the 14th February 1708, "the which day the Council, considering that there is an Episcopal meeting-house set up in this burgh by a few persons, and that the preachers are not qualified according to law, and have intruded themselves upon this parish where there is ane settled ministry, therefore the Council has agreed that the Magistrates shall do what they can to discourage such meetings, and to put the Act of Privy Council, dated day of 1706, against intruders upon churches to full execution."³ Further, on the 22nd February 1708, it was "reported [to the Session] that the Presbytery were falling upon methods and taking pains to get the Episcopal meeting-house in this place suppressed."⁴

There is no minute to show whether Mr Trent

¹ *Session Records.*

² Walter Stewart of Pardovan.

³ *Burgh Records*—the blanks are in the original.

⁴ *Session Records.*

was prohibited from preaching and his chapel suppressed, or not. The probability is that he was not; as we find on the 22nd December 1722 the following: "The Council recommends to the Magistrates to apply to the Justices of the Peace of the Shire, in order to cause Mr Alexander Cumming (an Episcopal preacher, presently residenter within this burgh) take the usual oath appointed by law, in respect that he daily preaches without praying for His Majesty King George."¹

On the 30th May 1691, the Council unanimously subscribed an adherence and call to Mr William Weir, minister.² The Session, on the 21st of the following month, "unanimously subscribe and adhere to Mr William Weir, their minister, in opposition to a pretended call given by some of the heritors of this parish to one of the late Episcopal Incumbents, and to another call given by the parish of East Calder to the said Mr William Weir, their minister."³ Mr Weir had formerly been minister, and was removed on the establishment of Episcopacy in 1661; but he lived to see its fall in 1689, and to return to his old parishioners. He was, moreover, the means of reconciling all the parties, left behind him a united people, and a legacy to the poor of the parish, and took with him to the grave the esteem and gratitude of all.⁴

So far as the second minister is concerned, there were the usual delay and the usual conferences between the Council and heritors as to the method of providing a stipend for him. On the 21st October

¹ *Burgh Records.*

³ *Session Records.*

² *Ibid.*

⁴ *Cf.* Chapter XII., pp. 183-189.

1693, there is the following minute: "The which day the Provost declared that, at the visitation of the church upon Wednesday last, several of the heritors of the landward part of the parish compeared and agreed to pay to a helper for Mr Weir, minister, two merks Scots upon each £100 of their valued rents, besides the stipend for a second minister contained in the Decreet of Locality, but that many of the heritors were absent. Therefore the Council appoints Bailie Hunter and Bailie Inglis to go through the heritors and get their consents in writing for paying the said two merks upon each £100 of their valued rent."¹

On the 10th of March 1694, the Council appointed the Magistrates to meet with the Presbytery, and to offer in the town's name to pay to the second minister the usual 400 merks, with £40 for house-maill. They also agreed to concur with the Presbytery in having a stipend settled for the second minister according to law. On the 26th of May 1694, Bailie Higgins was instructed "to petition the Commission for the planting of kirks, at their first sitting, anent the maintenance for a second minister, that the town be no further burdened but with the payment of 400 merks yearly and a house, conform to custom."² Higgins seems to have presented his petition, as, on the 16th June 1694, "the Magistrates, Council, and heritors were all summoned to compear before the Commission for the plantation of kirks, anent a stipend for a second minister."³ It does not appear, however, that a legal stipend was settled, for the

¹ *Burgh Records.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

Presbytery, on the 20th December 1694, recommended the Session to "think seriously upon such methods, how another minister may be settled in the parish of Linlithgow for the edification of the people."¹ The session in thinking "seriously" over the matter, put to themselves three questions, which they settled by taking a vote. The first question was, "Whether there is absolute necessity of having two ministers constantly settled in this parish or not?" The second, "Whether or not the town and parish, as they are now united, can be accommodated in one place so as they may conveniently hear to their edification?" The third, "Whether the session would advise the Presbytery to perambulate the parish in order to a new erection or not?" The first and third questions were answered in the affirmative, and the second in the negative.² Thus, in the opinion of the Session of that time, one church was not sufficient for the town and parish, and it was desirable to have a *landward* as well as a *burghal church*. Meanwhile, the first minister died, and the Town Council, on the 16th November 1695, "considering the sad and deplorable condition of the town, and the manifold loss sustained by the long and continuous vacancy of a fixed and edifying ministry among them, unanimously and cheerfully make offer of 600 merks Scots yearly, with £40 for house-maill, as their part of the stipend for a second minister."³ They also, at the same meeting, agreed to petition the Commission for the plantation of kirks to "have St Michael's Church divided into two, the

¹ *Session Records.*² *Ibid.*³ *Burgh Records.*

landward to have the chancel and the burgh the nave, and to have a legal cess laid on the inhabitants for the support of the second minister."¹ Then, on the 31st July 1697, "the Provost and Bailie Andrew consult the King's Advocate anent a stipend for a second minister," who, judging from the minute of 14th August 1697, seems to have advised them to provide a stipend *voluntarily*. Thereafter, the magistrates visited the town to see how much each burgess and residerter would pay annually. The Presbytery, on the other hand, wished to secure a legal stipend for the second minister, which led the Council to take a different course of action. They convened the inhabitants (8th April 1699), that they might obtain their consent to place a penny on the pound of house-rent, which the inhabitants were willing to agree to, "if they were provided with seats in the church."² The Council, on the 15th July 1699, in consideration that "the heritors were unwilling to give the 250 merks paid by them formerly," increased their quota from 600 to 650 merks, with £40 for house-maill, thus making the stipend, with the 350 merks secured by the Decreet of Locality, 1000 merks as formerly; and they resolved to raise it by "ane annuity of twelve pence upon each pound of house-maill."³ On the 14th October 1699, they gave a *bond* to the Presbytery, in which they undertook for themselves and their successors to pay annually the above stipend.⁴ Thus, after years of consultation, the question of the second minister's stipend was settled, and it only remained

¹ *Burgh Records*.² *Ibid.*³ *Ibid.*⁴ *Ibid.*

for the magistrates to find a second minister. The heritors were duly consulted, but as they were to pay nothing except what they were taken bound to pay in the *Locality*, they declared themselves willing to agree to the appointment of any minister whom "the magistrates, elders, and Mr Dalglish shall give a call to."¹ After thinking of various ministers, and having their charge refused by two, they at length fixed upon a young *expectant*, named Andrew Barclay, who was ordained on the 14th August 1700, and held the cure till 6th August 1719, when his resignation, on account of failing health, was tendered to, and accepted by, the Presbytery. Mr Barclay died on the 27th February 1721.²

Mr Barclay was succeeded by Mr Robert Dalglish, a son of the minister of the first charge. He was ordained on the 4th August 1720, and succeeded his father in the first charge on the 28th December 1726.³

To Mr Dalglish succeeded Mr Robert Spears, who was ordained to the second charge on the 3rd April 1728. He remained in Linlithgow till September 1743, when he was translated to Burntisland. Mr Spears was the last of the second ministers.⁴

The abolition of the second charge was brought about in this way. The Ministers' Widows' Fund, then recently instituted, made a demand for a proportion of the vacant stipend. On the 13th April 1745, the Provost declared "there is a demand on the town of Linlithgow of ten pounds sterling yearly

¹ *Burgh Records*.

² *Presbytery and Session Records*.

³ *Presbytery Records*. ⁴ *Ibid.*, and Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*.

out of the 650 merks payable by them to the second minister." And on the 7th March 1747, he referred to "a letter from Mr Ellis, minister of Carriden, and clerk to the Presbytery, enclosing an extract of an Act or resolution of the trustees for managing the funds appointed by law for ministers' relicts, whereby they demand from the town £5 every half year during the parish's vacancy of a second minister."¹ On the same day the Council ordained the said Act to be "laid before the town's lawyer, Mr Dundas, to receive his direction what answer is to be given, and to report." Accordingly on the 28th, Bailie Andrew reported that Mr Dundas advised "that the town should consult on that score a first-rate lawyer," to which the Council agreed. The first-rate lawyer, whom they consulted, was Mr Robert Craigie, afterwards a Lord of Session, who advised them to dispute the claim of the Widows' Fund in Court.² On the 2nd February 1748, the Provost reported "that he had gone to Edinburgh and consulted Mr Robert Craigie, late Lord Advocate, and Philpstoun (their ordinary lawyer), concerning the summons they had got anent the fund for the ministers' widows, and he produced a memorial for the town in that case, with his answers thereto, bearing his opinion to be, that the town could not be subjected to the payment. The Council resolved to continue in their defence of the action." The following week (6th February 1648), the Provost produced a letter from Alexander Young, writer, to the town's agent in the process

¹ *Burgh Records.*² *Ibid.*

against them at the instance of Mr Macintosh, for behoof of the Ministers' Widows' Fund, desiring to have sent in, to produce before the Court of Session, all extracts of *the bonds or Acts of Council* relative to the second minister's stipend. The Council ordained the clerk "to send in to him the Council's Register, containing whatever is necessary for that purpose."¹

The case was brought before the Lord Ordinary in December 1750, who granted an *interlocutor* in favour of the Ministers' Widows' Fund,² but, being appealed by the Town Council to the Inner House, the following decision, favourable to them, was obtained: "The Lords (15th February 1751), having advised this petition with the answers thereto, find that there is no subsisting benefice for a second minister in Linlithgow, and that consequently there is no vacant stipend, and therefore sustain the defences for the town of Linlithgow, and remit to the Lord Ordinary to proceed accordingly."³ Thus, on the 15th February 1751, the so-called *second charge*—the incumbents of which had presided in Session and Presbytery, and discharged all the duties, civil and sacred, which belong to a parish minister—was found to be *no benefice*, and the incumbents, from first to last, to have been only *parish assistants*.

¹ *Burgh Records*.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XIV

THE READER AND PRECENTOR—1592-1752

“To the churches where no ministers can be had presently, must be appointed the most apt men that distinctly can read the common prayers and the Scriptures, to exercise both themselves and the church, till they grow to greater perfection.”—*First Book of Discipline*.

No evidence exists to show that a large number of the clergy of the ancient church espoused the cause of the Reformation. The evidence, in fact, so far as there is any, is rather on the other side. In the early General Assemblies there were very few ministers present; and some of them, though recognised as ministers by the Reformed Church, had never been in *Holy Orders*.¹ The fact, too, that the Reformed Church had to supply a large number of her parishes by means of readers, seems to indicate that the educated clergy of the ancient church had preferred a new country or a secular calling, to a new creed.

In the parish of Linlithgow the last vicar was Sir Patrick Frenche, who, like the more celebrated

¹ *The Book of the Universal Kirk of Scotland*, edited by Alexander Peterkin, pp. 2 and 3.

Ninian Winzet, in place of becoming a minister of the Reformed Church, left the country. It is still more strange that in a burgh, which had so many chantry priests, and two orders of monks, all of them thrown idle by the Reformation, there was not found from among them one to fill the office of reader.

The first reference to a reader for St Michael's Church occurs in a minute of the Town Council, of date 30th March 1564, in which it is "statut that the redar be payit of the annuel rents of the Lady altar, Begis altars, Trinite altar, Lady lamp, and the St Michael's lycht, according as the Counsale sall modify quhill forder order be payit."¹

The earliest appointment of a reader to St Michael's was made in the year 1592.² In that year, there was drawn up a formal agreement between the Town Council and Mr Patrick Moneypenny, who was appointed to fill the offices of master of the Grammar School and reader at the kirk. Moneypenny was "to read at all hours and tymes convenient and appointed quhen thair is no preiching."³ He was also taken bound "to tak the cure of keeping the knok and horologe of the said burgh in guid ordor and temper swa that the said knok and horologe, nor no pairt thereof, shall be spilt be his negligence."⁴ For these services he was to receive "ane hundred merks" annually, and the school fees. Moneypenny, who was a graduate of St Andrews University, became minister

¹ *Burgh Records*.

² This is the earliest appointment recorded, but it may not have been the earliest.

³ *Burgh Records*.

⁴ *Ibid.*

of Muiravonside in 1598, from which parish he was translated to Livingstone in 1610.¹

It is doubtful, however, if Mr Money Penny ever entered on his duties as rector, reader, and *knok-keeper*. If he did, it could only be for a very few months, as in the same year there is an appointment made to the same offices, and on exactly the same terms, in favour of Mr Robert Nerne.²

To Mr Nerne succeeded Michael Park, who is described in a minute of 7th November 1628 as "reader at the kirk, and uptaker of the psalms." Park was not the Rector of the Grammar School, nor even, as was the case with several of the readers, its *doctor*.

Park was succeeded in 1633 by Robert Keith, who, besides acting as "reader and uptaker of the psalms," had charge of the *Sang Schule*, and acted as doctor, or under-teacher, in the Grammar School. As reader, he had from the Town Council the usual 100 merks per annum.³

Keith seems to have resigned, or died, about the end of the year 1636, as on the 10th February 1637 there is a payment to Mr Alexander Cornwall of £10 for the "reading of the prayers." Mr Alexander Cornwall was the son of Mr Robert Cornwall, minister of Linlithgow, and the brother of Mr John Cornwall who succeeded his father in the foresaid ministry. Alexander became minister of Muiravonside, but had a very chequered career, and at the time of his receiving the above payment was "in necessitous circumstances."⁴

¹ *Presbytery Records.*

² *Burgh Records.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

The next reader appointed was Mr William Bisset, who was engaged for a period of seven years, at the usual salary of one hundred merks annually. Bisset, who gave great satisfaction to the Town Council, had his salary increased on the 16th November 1638 to 120 merks; and again on the 20th December 1639 to 160 merks, with "payment to him of proclamation of ilk bandis, 10 shillings, and for every baptism, 6 shillings, and for the quarter payment of those within the burgh that shall frequent the music school, 10 shillings, and for those of the landward, 20 shillings." The Council likewise ordained that "a black gown be made, and given to him, to be worn by him on the Sabbath day, and in time of Divine service."¹

Bisset, who became reader in 1637, filled that office for forty-seven years. During his long tenure of the office he saw many changes, not only in the population of the parish, but also in the government of the church. At the time of his appointment the government of the church was Episcopal, and at the end of his first year's service it became Presbyterian. In 1661 it was again Episcopal; but these changes, while they brought ruin to ministers and schoolmasters, took place without depriving Bisset of his position of *reader at the kirk*. He had, however, his difficulties. In the troublous times, when the congregation was divided into Resolutioners and Protesters, he was accused of *drunkenness and of giving testimonials without the consent of the Session*,² but no

¹ *Burgh Records*.

² *Session Records of the Protesters*.

witnesses could be found to give evidence against him, and he might have escaped had he not appealed to the Presbytery. The Presbytery to which Bisset appealed was no doubt the Resolutionist Presbytery, and for doing so he was deposed by the Protesting Session. This, however, did not affect his position as *reader at the kirk*, and it greatly endeared him to the Magistrates, the majority of whom were on the Resolutionist side in that unfortunate quarrel.¹

With the restoration of Episcopacy, Bisset was in a position to settle old accounts with the Protesters. In 1661 he brought a complaint against the beadle of the "East congregation," for having "intromitted and uplifted certain moneys belonging to the clerk of session."² The Council, as was to be expected, befriended Bisset, and ordered the said beadle "to meet and agree with him."³

During the ministry of Mr Seton (1665-1690), when there was considerable strife between the Town Council and the minister, Bisset had oftentimes difficult duties to discharge. He lost the friendship of Mr Seton, having on this, as on all other occasions, preferred to obey the instructions of the Town Council. On the 20th October 1672, Mr Seton, "in face of the session, exhibited the following declaration and protestation in behalf of himself, his successors, ministers, and present interests of the church of Linlithgow:—That the alteration of the pulpit, building and disposing of the seats of the church by the Town Council of Linlithgow, ordering

¹ *Burgh Records.*

² *Session Records.*

³ *Burgh Records.*

of burials, exacting, contrary to law, on burials, marriages, and the holy sacrament of baptism, without any consent of session, is a thing the minister dare not in conscience consent to, and hereby declares against. And that William Bisset, present writer to the session, gave forth an extract of the last session day intimating an unanimous consent in choosing Mr John Burnet as helper-minister here, and also a former extract of three or four heritors met in such choice before—both which did conceal my protest for my interest, and was subdolous—and the said William having refused to insert these presents, I have, for the manifestation of truth, declared *ut supra*. Witness my hand. Alexander Seton.”¹

In a subsequent minute of session there is recorded the advice of the Bishop of Edinburgh as to the working of the parish, embodying some rules which he suggested with the view of preserving peace between Mr Seton and his colleague. At the end of the minute Mr Seton has written the following words : “This is recorded by William Bisset his officiousness, there being no order for it, and its production devisive and emulous.”²

In his old age, when the church was again on the eve of a revolution, Mr Bisset suffered much from a reduced income, and was under the necessity of petitioning the Council in terms which, as they reflect an interesting light on the state of the community at that time, may be given here in full. “The same day there was produced at Council a petition and humble

¹ *Session Records.*

² *Ibid.*

supplication, subscribed by William Bisset, precentor, to my Lord Provost, Bailies, and Council, showing that he had waited upon your lordship's service about the space of forty-five years, in better and worse times, intending also to spend the rest of his time therein, and finding his income and casualties by baptisms and marriages to decrease through the division of the times, men of any account never offering him less nor a shilling or eighteen pence for a baptism, and now hardly can he get a sixpence, and from some nothing at all, persons of quality taking another course for their marriage than by proclamation, the kirk-annuals being in many small parcels and ill-paid, so that he has much to do to keep credit in the place, his allowance being £40 short these many years bygone yearly of what it was formerly. Might it therefore please your lordships to take these things to consideration, and let your petitioner have some augmentation yearly, so that he may spend the rest of his time in your service comfortably. His case being well-known to you, your generous answer is expected by your servant. (Signed) William Bisset."¹ This petition being read, and the Council "having taken the desire thereof to their serious consideration, the petitioner's faithful service in his station, and the loss he sustains through the division of the times, and his present condition, they [though they had recently undertaken to pay his house-maill] unanimously grant him presently 50 merks, and recommend to the succeeding Magistrates and Council to grant the like sum to him

¹ *Burgh Records.*

yearly, by and attour what pension he has formerly given to him, declaring that this sum is only to be given to the said William during his lifetime, but to none succeeding him."¹

Mr Bisset did not enjoy his augmented salary very long, for he died in the beginning of the year 1684. His appointment had been as *Reader*, but the minute which records his death refers to him as "their last precentor."² The readership may, therefore, be considered to have died with him.

In the year 1650 there was some correspondence between the Kirk-session of Linlithgow and the Town Council, as to the liability of the latter to assist in maintaining a precentor. The arrangement came to, as the result of this correspondence, was that the Council "would pay one hundred merks annually towards the precentor's salary, on condition that the person who filled the office should be a musician appointed by their advice, and with their consent."³

This agreement, though apparently very simple, produced, as will be seen in the sequel, a very unique lawsuit.

Mr James Bisset, who succeeded his father in the precentorship, did not meet with, and perhaps did not merit, such kindly treatment from the Council as his father had received. Appointed in 1684, he was dismissed in 1689. As, however, 1689 was the commencement of a new regime—Mr Walter Stewart having been installed as Provost of the burgh—and as there took place as a consequence of it the dismissal

¹ *Burgh Records*,

² *Ibid*,

³ *Ibid*,

both of the minister, Mr Seton, and of the school-master, Mr Kirkwood, it is probable that Bisset's dismissal, like the others, was on *political* rather than on *personal* grounds.

On the 4th of July 1691, Mr Robert Strang, "an approved musician," was "unanimously called, and received by the Town Council, to be the precentor at a salary of £30, and the kirk-annuals, to be uplifted by himself."¹ This appointment was made by the Town Council *in the first place*, who deputed the Provost to recommend Strang to the Kirk-session. A part of Mr Strang's engagement was to keep a public school for the teaching of music, for which service he was to receive, in addition to the above salary, the dues from the children of the landward and burgh who attended his school. His appointment was confirmed by the Kirk-session on the 20th of the same month.²

In 1699 the Town Council, "considering that there are several salaries paid yearly by the town, a part whereof are exorbitant, and some for no use," withdrew from Mr Strang his salary of £30. In 1703 they granted him, in response to a petition and "in consideration of his numerous family," a sum of fifty merks on condition that their act should not furnish a claim on the £30 withdrawn. On the 28th April 1716, he had his salary of £30 restored, "in consideration of the benefit and use he is to the town as music-master." Strang died on the 1st of February 1730.³

¹ *Burgh Records.*

² *Session Records.*

³ *Burgh Records.*

On the 24th of April 1730, the Kirk-session appointed Mr John Glen, student in divinity, to be "clerk to the session and precentor" at the same salary, and with the same casualties as his predecessor had enjoyed.¹ The following evening the committee of the Town Council, appointed to confer with the Session, reported in favour of Glen, with the result that his appointment was confirmed by the Council.² Glen held the office till the end of February 1736, when he died.

On the 9th of May 1736, the Session appointed a committee to confer with the Town Council as to a successor to Glen. On the 22nd, a committee of the Town Council was appointed to confer with the Session. The Session's representatives at the conference proposed onè Daling, a student of divinity, and the Town Council's representatives proposed one Leven, "a writer lad in Bailie Bucknay's chamber." On the 3rd August 1736 the Session met and appointed Daling to the office. On the 7th the Town Council declared that the Kirk-session "had unwarrantably chosen one to be a precentor," and to put matters right they "appointed Thomas Leven to be precentor." On the 12th August the Town Council agreed to consult Mr Lockhart, advocate, as to "their right and title to name a precentor." Leven, according to the Session, "intruded himself into the said office by coming to the precentor's seat on Sabbath last, and this day (15th August 1736), and that he had taken up a psalm and sung to the congregation on

¹ *Session Records.*

² *Burgh Records.*

Wednesday last without any order of the ministers, and contrary to the Act of Session, and that he also began to take up the psalm after sermon till he was stopt." The Council having consulted their agent, were (21st August) "unanimously of opinion that the precentor named by them should keep the position." The Session, meanwhile, carried their cause to the Presbytery, "who are empowered by law to put order to all causes and matters ecclesiastical," who confirmed, after trial of his abilities, the appointment of Daling. The Session, having made various attempts to come to terms with the Town Council, resolved (11th October) "to bring Daling forward to present when they see it convenient, and in case he be disturbed in the exercise of his office, they appoint the ministers to consult lawyers in order to take proper measures for maintaining their right." On the 23rd October, there were read to the Town Council the following terms of a proposed agreement drawn up by a committee of Session and Town Council:—1. Daling to demit his office; 2. The Session to elect a capable man to sing and teach Church music, their appointment, if objected to by the Town Council, to be tried by the Presbytery, and decided; 3. The Council to pay the precentor 100 merks, or give him all possible assistance in collecting his annuals; 4. The precentor elected to exercise his office without molestation from the Town Council.¹ The Town Council, however, *by a great majority*, refused these terms, and resolved that "if the Kirk-

¹ *Session Records.*

Session shall commence a law-suit they will defend their rights.”¹ On 5th December the Kirk-session unanimously resolved to proceed in the affair of the precentor, and support their right, and the election of Mr Daling by law. During the years 1737-38 the minute-books of both the Session and Town Council are silent about the precentor, the question being before the Court of Session; but on 19th November 1738 Mr Ramsay, agent for the Kirk-session, attended the Session and explained to the members the import of the Interlocutor of the Lord Ordinary in the affair of the precentor—“that the right of the election is in the Session; that they must advertise the Town Council by a writing 14 days before of the person to be elected; that the Session are judges in the first instance of any objections to be made by the Town, but the Town may appeal to the Lords; and in Mr Daling’s case ordained the Town to give in their objections to him against the 21st.”² Daling, whose appointment as precentor had occasioned all this friction, resigned on the lawsuit being terminated.

Mr Daling, who became minister of Cleish, though probably he had never acted as precentor in Linlithgow, wrote to the Magistrates in 1760 demanding payment of 341 merks, as salary due to him by the Town Council from the date of his appointment by the Kirk-session till the date of his resignation. The Town Council again took the advice of an agent, but as the opinion given was to the effect that Daling had a right to the salary, in terms of the Lord Ordinary’s

¹ *Burgh Records.*

² *Session Records.*

decision, the Council resolved to pay, which they did accordingly.¹

The Session, having duly intimated their intention to do so to the Magistrates and Council, met on the 4th February 1740, and appointed Robert Forrester, writer in Linlithgow, to be precentor and session clerk.² The Town Council attended by committee and concurred in the appointment; but complained of their not having been invited to take part in Forrester's trials, and wished their complaint minuted, which was refused. Forrester's career was uneventful. He died in the beginning of the year 1751.

The vacancy in the precentorship again threatened to raise a storm between the Town Council and the Kirk-session. The Session proposed to appoint Mr William Dalgleish, a son of the minister, to be the precentor, "with a power to him to appoint one to officiate for him, while he assisted his father."³ The Town Council did not look favourably on the proposal. The Session applied to the Presbytery to meet, and take trial of some persons who had already offered, or any others who might offer, themselves as candidates. The Magistrates attended the trials, and were of opinion that the two best candidates were Mr Alexander Gordon, glover, and Mr Alexander Gardner, shoemaker, both belonging to Linlithgow; but, they say, "as none of the six candidates was questioned on the points of music, they delay giving any opinion."⁴ The Session (27th March 1752) resolved to drop all their candidates and advertise

¹ *Burgh Records.* ² *Session Records.* ³ *Ibid.* ⁴ *Burgh Records.*

again. On the 26th August 1752, the Kirk-session appointed one Reid to be the precentor. The Council on the 29th unanimously resolved, previous to taking any other steps, to consult *Counsel*, and recommended Provost Bucknay to prepare a memorial, and lay it before Mr Craigie.¹ The consultation did not result in litigation.

From this point the precentorship in the parish loses its interest. The Town Council continued to pay 100 merks Scots towards the precentor's salary, and a *modus vivendi* between the Town Council and the Kirk-session seems to have been discovered. In 1878 an organ was introduced into the church to assist the praise, since which date the Council has not been called on for their hundred merks annually.

¹ *Burgh Records*.

CHAPTER XV

THE ENDOWMENTS OF ST MICHAEL'S—1124-1905

"How quickly nature falls into revolt,
When gold becomes her object."—SHAKESPEARE.

THE endowments of a pre-reformation church consisted of two parts, called respectively the spirituality and the temporality. Under the name of *spirituality* the ancient Church included only the tithes, which she regarded as her own by divine right, and under the name of *temporality* she included all her other possessions. The distinction shows that, from the earliest times, the Christian Church claimed the tithes on the basis of the Jewish law, and that in the twelfth century when she received them, she did not accept of them as a gift, but as a right. This twofold division into spirituality and temporality, though a distinction which is nearly forgotten in Scotland at the present time, offers, on the whole, the best order in which to consider the endowments of St Michael's.

I. *The Spirituality or Tithes.*—In the charter of David I. in which he gifts the church of Linlithgow

to the church of St Andrews, its endowments are said to consist in "chapels, and lands within the burgh and without, and all other rights belonging to it."¹ No mention is made of tithes, nor is there any reference to them in any of the numerous charters of confirmation for a considerable time.

The earliest mention of the tithes occurs in a confirmation of the property of Linlithgow church by Pope Alexander III., in which he enumerates "lands, houses within the burgh and without, *tithes*, rents, chapels, and all things and rights belonging to the same church."² Alexander III. occupied the Chair of St Peter, from 1159 till 1181, and it is possible that this reference indicates, with fair accuracy, not merely in respect to Linlithgow, but in respect to Scotland, the period at which the Church had her claim to the tithes generally conceded. It is certain, at all events, that the right of the Scottish Church to the tithes was fully acknowledged by the time of King Alexander II., for in his reign, Bishop William Malvoisine, in enumerating the possessions of Linlithgow church, speaks of "lands, with tithes and oblations, and all things justly belonging to it."³ Moreover, in another charter, in which the foresaid Bishop fixes the proportion of the revenues of the church to be paid to the vicar of the parish and to the Priory of St Andrews respectively, he divides them thus:—to the vicar are assigned "*omnes decime negociacionis burgensium et aliorum negociatorum et conductivorum, et decime*

¹ *Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree*, pp. 186-7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 54.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 155-6.

ortorum ceragia oblationes obvenciones tam de vivis quam de mortuis exceptis vivis animalibus cum corporibus defunctorum ecclesie legatis decime feni lini casei butiri purcellorum auctarum gallinarum," and to the Priory "omnes vero terre decime et omnia alia bona quocumque modo ad supradictam ecclesiam de Linlithcu de jure spectancia."¹

From the above it will be seen that the tithe in pre-reformation times meant literally *a tenth portion*. And it was not merely the fruits of the land which were tithed, for the Church claimed the tenth of all animals reared in the stable, the byre, and the piggery; the tenth of the milk, butter, cheese, fowls, and eggs; the tenth fish from the sea, the river, and the lake. She even claimed, and notwithstanding the doubt of a learned writer on tithes, she seems to have obtained the tenth of *the profits of merchants and traders*.² And, if such were the case, it cannot be necessary here to emphasise the fact that, in her tithes, the ancient Church had her greatest source of wealth. When every nine men with an adequate income supported a tenth to look after their spiritual interests, the millennium should have been at hand—that is to say, if the number and wealth of the ecclesiastics could have brought it.

Besides the ordinary tithes, the Church received from the Scottish kings what were known as *second tithes*. These *secundae decimae* consisted of a tenth of the royal revenue from courts of law, forfeitures,

¹ *Registrum Prioratus Sancti Andree*, p. 159.

² *A Treatise on the Law of Scotland respecting Tithes*, by John Connell, Esq., Advocate, vol. i., p. 124.

and similar sources. From a very early time, the Prioress of Manuel received the second tithes accruing from the royal revenues drawn from the burgh of Linlithgow, with the exception of those derived from the Chamberlain's Courts, which were given to the Abbot of Holyrood.¹

It was customary in the Middle Ages for great religious houses to lease their tithes, and it seems that the Prior of St Andrews had, during the Wars of Independence, leased those of Linlithgow to one Emeric de Friscombold, who sold them to the English, for the purpose of provisioning the Palace.

II. *Lands and Houses within the Burgh and Without.*—The principal portion of the lands without the burgh consisted of the farm of Meikle Parkley.² These lands are referred to by name in a charter of novodamus granted by King James III., in which he confirms to the Priory of St Andrews "the church of Linlithgow, with the chapels of Benyn, Auldcathie, and Ochiltree annexed to the same, with the small tithes of the same, *and the ecclesiastical lands of Parkle*, with the cane of Ochiltree, Auldcathie, Manuall, with the chrism of Torphichen, and the rents of Lochcote, and with the small rents within

¹ *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, vol. i., 1264-1359.

² The above refers only to lands belonging to St Michael's Church. Several religious houses had extensive possessions within the parish of Linlithgow. Cambuskenneth had the estate of Kettleston, Newbattle had Westbinning, Kelso had Hangingside, Dunfermline had Philpstoun, Manuel had Williamsraig, etc.

the burgh and without."¹ The above is the earliest reference to the lands of Parkley, but while it proves that they were, either in whole or in part, the property of the church before the reign of King James III., it does not inform us when or by whom they were conferred on it. From the fact, however, that they belonged to the Priory of St Andrews, it may be inferred that they formed a part of the endowments of Linlithgow church at the time when David I. gifted it, *with its lands*, to the church of St Andrew at Kilrimont. We have later evidence of these lands belonging to the church of St Michael. In 1475 an action was raised at the instance of one Robert Crichton of Kinoule against Robert Dogude of Balcarn, "anent the tak of the kirk of Linlithgow in so far as the said Robert could not get the fruits of the toun of Mekil Parkle pertaining to the said kirk, for five years bygane."² Further, in a charter by King James VI., of date 1605, in which he confirms to Patrick Hamilton of Livingstone and his wife, Euphemia Seytoun, the lands of Meikle Parkle, sold to them by Sir James Sandilands of Slamanan, it is explained parenthetically that these lands "formerly belonged to the church of St Andrews."³

Of lands without the burgh the church also possessed a fourth of the farm of Lochhouse. This was a portion of the endowment of St Peter's altar, and any information which is to be obtained respect-

¹ *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, A.D. 1471.

² *Acta Dominorum ad causas et querelas audiendus electorum in Parliamentis Domini Jacobi Tertii*, p. 40.

³ *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, No. 1601.

ing these lands will be given in dealing with that altar.

Another portion of land without the burgh, of which there is evidence to show that it belonged to St Michael's Church, is a small portion somewhere on the south side of the burgh, probably in the neighbourhood of Bridgehead, which was known as "the curate's acres."¹

Of the lands *within the burgh*, though it is impossible to identify them now, there is an interesting rent-roll which, if not the oldest, is certainly one of the oldest in existence. It is entitled "redditus terrarum in villa de Linlitq̃," and as it is an interesting relic of the past, it deserves to be quoted in full :—

In orientali parte ville :—

Unum plenarium toftum, trium solidorum ad terminos.
 Willelmus Carunith habet duas perticatas, x denarios.
 Priorissa de Manuel, duas perticatas, x denarios.
 Unum plenarium toftum 1 libra Cimini.
 Willelmus aurifaber habet 2 perticatas, x denarios.
 Willelmus dimunid 2 perticatas, x denarios.

In media villa :—

Gaufridus tinctor habet unam perticatam v denarios.
 Gilbertus boy xv denarios.
 Matthew faber v solidos.
 Robertus Scyminyng vi denarios.
 Gaufridus sutor vi denarios.
 Gaufridus filius huchredi vi denarios.
 Agnes de Abernid vi denarios.
 Malcolmus clericus 3 solidos et 6 denarios.
 Ricardus crundoc 6 denarios.
 Sandoc 3 solidos.²

¹ The last curate was Dom David Ellame.

² *Liber Cartarum Sancti Andree*, p. 343.

Chapels.—In another chapter we have sketched the history of the various chapels belonging to St Michael's Church, and do not require to say more here, than this, that as each of them paid a rent to the *mother church*, they are invariably included, with the tithes and lands, among its possessions. In place of being helped by the parent church as would be the case now, chapels in those days were a source of revenue.¹

Other Possessions.—(a) *The rent of Manuel.* This appears to have consisted of 26s. 8d. paid from the lands of Manuel Mill. It is referred to in a charter by King James VI., in which he gifts to the Duke of Lennox numerous possessions in various parts of Scotland, and among them, twenty six shillings and eight pence from the Mill of Manuel, formerly, says the charter, "belonging to St Andrews Priory." (b) *The rent of Lochcote.* The only reference to this property which we have found, is in the charter of King James III., already quoted. (c) *Mills.* In addition to the possessions above enumerated, the church had tithes from all the mills within the parish. The following mills were in existence in 1282, and the payments made by them were as follow, viz., Molendinum monialium, due marce. Molendinum de Karibyr iiis. et vd. Molendinum de Ketlistune viis. et xd. Molendinum de Ricardistune vs. et xd. Molendinum de Ouchiltre xis. et ixđ. Molendinum de Parduvyn viis. et xd. Molendinum de Lacu vis. et viiid. Summa v^m vis. et iiiid.² (d) *Casualties.* In addition to the

¹ *Preface to Chartulary of Lindores*, by Bp. Dowden, p. lxviii.

² *Liber Cartarum Sancti Andree*, p. 344.

above, the church of course would possess the usual casualties, such as the uppermost cloth, corpse presents, etc., which exactions, as they were an intolerable burden on the poor, must have been a considerable source of income to parish churches in those days. And though it is impossible now even to guess at their financial value, it is evident that in a parish like Linlithgow, which includes a burgh, they must have considerably augmented the fixed revenue.

Such was the wealth of St Michael's before the Reformation. What became of it?

One of the first results of the Reformation, so far as the endowments of churches are concerned, was the loss to religion of that part of them—in a certain sense voluntary—which the ancient Church derived from casual sources. The reformers, too, had made "the cow" and other corpse duties the subject of so much humour, that they could not consistently lay claim to them.

A similar fate would naturally await the tithes derived from the profits of *merchants and traders*. No church, except the Church of Rome in the days of her greatness, could have collected such tithes, and there are not wanting those who doubt if even she succeeded. And with reference to other sources of casual revenue the same remark applies. The Reformation made it impossible for the tithe-collector to enter the farmer's stable, byre, piggery or hen-house, and claim for the church the tenth young animal or fowl. Henceforth tithes were limited to the barn.

The rents of chapels would also lapse at the

Reformation. In most cases, indeed, these chapels themselves were allowed to go to ruin, and the rents would, as a matter of course, not be paid. Where, as in the case of Benyn Chapel connected with Linlithgow church, there was a small endowment, it was dealt with in the same way as the larger endowments of the mother church, viz., gifted to some noble family. The 40 acres of land, for example, which belonged to Benyn Chapel, were gifted to the Earl of Haddington.

The only portions of the endowments of St Michael's Church which remain after these are deducted are, first, the lands; secondly, the annual rents of the altars; and thirdly, the tithes from the fruits of the earth. The history of these, subsequent to the Reformation, it is proposed briefly to sketch in the sequel.

I. *The Lands*.—On the 6th of April 1593, James VI. granted to Ludovic, Duke of Lennox, the whole lands of the Archbishopric of St Andrews. These, which are enumerated in the charter of donation, include the lands of Parkley (*villam et terras de Parkley*), and the lands belonging to the chapel of Ochiltree in the parish of Linlithgow. The gift was made subject to the payment of a certain fixed stipend to each minister of the numerous churches which, before the Reformation, had belonged to the St Andrews diocese.¹ The possessions of the Archbishopric and Priory were in 1641 gifted by Charles

¹ *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, A.D. 1593, No. 2273; and *Inquisitionum Retornatarum Abbreviatio*, vol. i., Linlithgow, July 29th, 1625.

I. to the University of St Andrews, with some important reservations. Among the reservations are "the kirkis of Haddingtoun and Linlithgow, quhilk were dissolvit and dismemberit from St Andrews and disponit to the Earl of Haddingtoun."¹ So far, then, as the lands belonging to St Michael's Church are concerned, they were given to the Duke of Lennox, and afterwards found their way into the possession of private individuals. At the present time they are owned—Parkley by Patrick Baron Seton, Esq., of Preston and Ekolsund, Sweden, and the acres of the Ochiltree Chapel by the Earl of Rosebery.

II. *The Annual-rents of the Altars*.—These were given to the "Proveist, Baillies, counsell and communitie of the burghe of Linlithgow and ther successoures" by King James VI., by a charter dated 8th May 1591, which was confirmed by Charles I. on the 17th of November 1641.²

The above gift included several portions of land lying within the burgh and in the immediate neighbourhood of it, which had been doted to the altars. Of these the largest was apparently the portion belonging to the altar of St Peter, which consisted of a fourth part of the farm of Lochhouse. The other portions belonging to other altars are dealt with in the Appendix.

III. *The Tithes*.—With regard to the tithes, the Reformation, by interfering with the old arrangements, produced a plentiful crop of questions, a tithe of which

¹ *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. v., p. 380.

² For the terms of the gifts, *cf.* p. 153.

would have sufficed for any one age to settle. The ancient clergy had leased their tithes, and these leases gave the tacksmen certain rights to which they clung tenaciously. The proprietors were naturally anxious to obtain possession of the tithes of their lands, and now that the rights of the ancient clergy were abolished, they were unwilling to pay to any clergy. The reformed clergy, while they gained favour with the poor by declaring their willingness to abandon all claims so far as "the uppermost claith, corps-presents, clerk-maile, the pasche-offering, teind-ale, and all handling upaland" were concerned, never for a moment relinquished their claim on the teinds.¹ They regarded them as the just patrimony of the kirk, of education, and of the poor. Sometimes the tithes got into the hands of lay titulars, who were as exacting, if not more so, as the ancient clergy. Thus for a century the various sections of society contended for the teinds, as dogs in Eastern lands contend for a bone which is not the special possession of any of the claimants.

The earliest trouble in connection with the teinds of Linlithgow parish arose in the year 1567. The Peel, or royal park, was during that year in the possession of one Andrew Ferrier, who had sown "twa fauldis within the boundis of the same with brumeseed and cornis together, trusting na stop nor impediment in the schering, leding, and intromitting with the said cornis growand within the freedom of

¹ Knox, *History of the Reformation*, edit. 1836, pp. 207, 263, etc. ; and Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 172-3.

the said park, and crope thair of of this instant year, be ony person or personis in respect of the freedome and privilege of the said park; nevirtheles James Wetherspune, allegeand him to be takkisman of the teindis of the cornis growand within the fredome of the burgh of Linlythquow, acclaimis and sayis that he will have teind schaves of the saidis cornis sawin be the said Andro in his twa fauldis foresaidis." The question came before "My Lord Regent, and the Lords of the Secret-council," who ordained and commanded "Charles Drummond, Provost of Lynlythquow, to teind the cornis growand in the saidis twa fauldis within the said park this instant yeir, and to set the same on the expenssis thair of, within the said park thair to remane ay and quhill it be decydit be ordeur of law to quhome the samyn appertainis."¹

This same trouble was again demanding the attention of My Lord Regent's Grace and the Lords of the Secret-council in the year 1574. At this date the tenants of "Our Sovereign Lord's park" were "diverse persons" to whom it had been let by Captain Lamby, at that time keeper of the palace; and the tacksman of the teinds of the acres about the burgh of Linlithgow was Harry Drummond of Riccarton. The Lord Regent's Grace and Council "being ripely advised thairwith, findis that the said park, nor no utheris of our Soverane Lordis parkis, ar or hes bene, in use of payment of ony teindis, for the cornis or gudis growand or being thairin; and thairfore ordanis the said Capitane Andro Lamby to intromet, use, and

¹ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 561-2.

dispone the haill cornis within the said park of Lynlythquow this present yeir, and in tyme cuming, unsuffering ony pairt thair of to be intromettit with be the said Hary, or utheris pretending rycht or interes thairto as teynd, dischargeing thame thair of in tyme coming." ¹

In 1587 the teinds of Linlithgow were again before the Lords of Secret-Council. This time the complainer was Alexander Dalmahoy of that Ilk, whose complaint was that Sir Patrick Frenche, the last vicar of Linlithgow, had "set during all the days of his lifetime the teinds in tack to the late Mr Andro Hereott of Trabroun, which tack the said Mr Andro assigned to the complainer, so that, by virtue of the said assignation, the complainer has possession of the duties of the vicarage without any question. But now he is informed that Nicoll Cornwall of Ballinhard, 'quha is debt-bound in the maist pairt of the fruitis of the said vicarage,' has 'movit the said Sir Patrick to demitt the said vicarage in his Majesteis hands, and that, upoun the said demissioun his Hienes hes presentit Patrick Kenlowy, minister at Linlythgow, thereto.' In these circumstances, the complainer prays that the Keeper of the Privy Seal shall be discharged from passing the said presentation till such time as the said Patrik, the presentee, confirm the said tack and assignation thereof, and mak securitie that the said demissioun sall nawayes be hurtful nor prejudiciall thereunto." ²

¹ *Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 400-4.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 226.

On the 6th of April 1593, the Duke of Lennox obtained from King James VI. a gift of all the property formerly belonging to the Bishopric and Priory of St Andrews. This included the teinds of the parish of Linlithgow. The gift, however, was subject to a burden of £143, 6s. 8d., being the amount of stipend to be paid to the minister.¹

In 1619 Charles I. confirmed a sale by the Duke of Lennox to Alexander, Earl of Linlithgow, of all the teinds of the parish of Linlithgow, with the exception of those of Preston, which at that time belonged, as did the lands of Preston, to James, Lord Ross. By this purchase the Earl of Linlithgow became titular of the teinds—a possession which remained in the Linlithgow family till 1715, when, owing to the part which James, the fifth Earl of Linlithgow, took in the rebellion of that year, his Lordship was attainted and his property reverted to the Crown.²

In the beginning of the seventeenth century provision was made for the valuation of teinds. Accordingly the teinds of West Binny, Braidlaw and Hangingside, which farms then belonged to the Earl of Haddington, were valued in 1633; those of Kingsfield, which then belonged to William Drummond of Hawthornden, were valued in 1636; those of Belsyde, the mylne-lands of Laighmill and Little-Mill, and the lands called *Five acres*, which then belonged to James Hamilton of West Port, were valued in 1636. These are the earliest valuations; but others followed from time to

¹ *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, vol. v., No. 2273.

² *Pocket Peerage of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 269.

time, till now all the tithes of the parish, with one or two unimportant exceptions, have been valued and purchased by the respective proprietors.¹

This chapter may be appropriately concluded by a brief sketch of the history of that small portion of the tithes which constitutes the stipend of the parish—all that St Michael's Church now possesses of her ancient wealth.

It is not known by whom the first Protestant minister of Linlithgow was appointed, or by whom he was paid. If John Knox may be credited, then the clergy of the Church of Scotland were for a few years after the Reformation reduced to the necessity of living on the free-will offerings of their people.² They did not, however, relish it, judging from the persistent manner in which they claimed the tithes; nor was Voluntaryism, whatever it may accomplish in our age of unexampled prosperity, likely in a century of great poverty such as the sixteenth to yield very happy results. It is not usually remembered by those who speak and write of the great hardships endured by the first Reformers that they are condemning Voluntaryism, which as a *dernier ressort* is always open to those who cannot obtain any better mode of procuring their livelihood.

The first reference to the stipend of Linlithgow belongs to the year 1567. At that time the minister, Mr Kinloquhy, had a stipend of £120 Scots.

In 1574 Kinloquhy obtained from King James VI.

¹ Documents in Teind Office, Edinburgh.

² Knox's *History of the Reformation*, edit. 1836, pp. 257-8.

the vicarage tithes. His salary at that date amounted to £145, 2s. 2d., which was paid from the following sources, viz. :—£120 from the Priory of St Andrews ; £13, 6s. 8d. from the *third* of Holyrood House, to be paid by the taxmen or parishioners of Carriden ; 36 shillings and 8 pence, being the *third* of the vicarage of Benyn ; and £20, being the whole vicarage of Linlithgow. The total amounts to £155, 3s. 4d., but was subject to a deduction towards the support of the reader in Linlithgow.¹

In 1593, when, as we have seen already, the possessions of the Bishopric and Priory of St Andrews were bestowed upon the Duke of Lennox, they were given subject to the payment of stipends to the ministers of the churches concerned. Mr Kinloquhy's stipend is given in the charter as £143, 6s. 8d.

In 1611, when Episcopacy was established, the minister of Linlithgow had still the vicarage tithes, which he was discharged "to sett on tack without the consent of his Ordinary." The stipend by this time had become in part a grain stipend, and had improved considerably, for it now consisted of "£140, with 10 bolls of wheat, one chalder 14 bolls of bere, 2 chalders 11 bolls oats, 17 bolls meal presently possessed, and 10 bolls suspended during my Lord Scone his life-time." As yet, the minister of Linlithgow occupied the pre-Reformation manse, but had no glebe.²

¹ MS. Book of Assignations of Stipends, in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

² *Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife*, pp. 23, 24.

By an ancient locality of stipend granted in the beginning of the seventeenth century, but of which no copy is now in existence, provision was made for two ministers in Linlithgow. The provision for the second minister was far from adequate, and to secure the services of one, the heritors and the Town Council supplemented it voluntarily. This locality, which is frequently referred to in the Council Records, provided a stipend of 350 merks for the second minister. It is also referred to in a condescendence submitted to the Court of Teinds in the year 1813, by Mr Marshall, who was proprietor of Wairdlaw at that time, and who declares that he and his predecessors had regularly paid "to the first minister, for serving the cure of the kirk at Linlithgow, three bolls oats and one boll meal yearly, at the feast of Yule and Candlemas; and to the second minister, for serving the cure at the said kirk of Linlithgow, the fourth part of the present duty payable to them."¹ This arrangement, whatever may have been its precise nature, continued with frequent interruptions until 1751, when the second charge was declared by the Court of Session to be "no benefice."

During the strife between the Resolutioners and the Protesters, which continued from 1649 until 1655, the stipend as well as theology and discipline was the subject of contention in Linlithgow. The people were so poor that Voluntaryism was found inadequate, more especially as the Protesters had called, and were therefore responsible for the support of two ministers.

¹ Document in Teind Office, Edinburgh.

The Resolutioners evidently made an effort to capture the whole teind stipend for *their* minister, for we find Provost Robert Stewart reporting to the Town Council on the 26th February 1656, "that he had discharged his commission in going to Edinburgh," and had obtained "an Act of approbation from the Commissioners for visiting the universities in Scotland, of Mr James Ramsay to be minister of Linlithgow, with a right to him of the half of the stipend since July 1655, and of the whole stipend until further orders." General Monk, however, whose word was more potent in Linlithgow at this time than even that of "the Commissioners for visiting the universities," took a different view of the situation, and ordered the stipend to be equally divided between the two claimants to the first charge. Mr Ramsay and Mr Weir had, therefore, £53, 6s. 8d. each per annum, while the Rev. Mr Brown, whom the Protesters had called to the second charge, was thrown on the goodwill of his friends.

In the year 1807, Mr Dobie, minister of Linlithgow at that time, instituted a process of augmentation and locality which was not out of the hands of the common agent in 1822, when he instituted a second one. The two processes were combined, and after a very thorough investigation into the title-deeds of the various proprietors, a *Locality* of stipend was granted by the Court, which, with some unimportant alterations, is still practically *the Locality* in operation. The principal changes made by this process of augmentation and locality were two: namely, first,

the lands of Parkley, which hitherto had escaped the payment of stipend on the ground that they were originally church lands, were declared teindable; and secondly, the Royal Park, which, as the property of the Crown, had been exempted, was, notwithstanding a previous decision to the contrary, declared teindable also. The reason for the latter decision is given in the finding of the Court, and establishes an interesting point in law respecting royal parks and other lands belonging to the Crown. "In respect," says the decision of the Court, "the lands in question, though they appear formerly to have been original crown lands, yet having been granted in feu to the Earl of Linlithgow, and reverted to the Crown by the attainder of Linlithgow, the character of the tenure is changed, and the lands have become liable in the payment of teinds in like manner as any other lands held feu of the Crown. Therefore adheres to the Interlocutor of the Lord Ordinary (Robertson), and decerns, and remits to Lord Moncrieff to proceed in the Locality accordingly."

Since the above settlement, various augmentations and Localities have been obtained by successive ministers of Linlithgow, but neither the circumstances nor the processes in these cases have had any features of exceptional interest. It is unnecessary to add more than simply to state that the free teind of the parish at present amounts to £1036, and that the stipend consists of 223 bolls, 9 stones, $12\frac{5}{8}$ lbs. of meal, and 163 quarters, 3 pecks, $1\frac{4}{8}$ quarts barley, with £20 for Communion expenses.

APPENDIX I.

THE HIGH (OR ST MICHAEL'S) ALTAR

THE High altar in a Roman church is always, as a matter of course, dedicated to the same person as the church itself. The High altar in Linlithgow church was therefore dedicated to St Michael, and was spoken of by the people sometimes as *the High altar*, and at other times as *St Michael's altar*.

At this altar it was the duty of the vicar to celebrate mass on the Lord's day, when the attendance, it may be presumed, was much larger than was usual at special masses. The High altar, in a sense, was as old as the church, though it is possible that, like the church itself, it had undergone several restorations, and was much larger and handsomer when it was destroyed at the Reformation than it had been when David I. gifted the church to the Bishop of St Andrews.

The first reference to the High altar in the Records of the Town Council, which are our only source of information, occurs in a minute of 5th November 1529. The minute is incomplete, but it shows that the magistrates were exercising their privilege of controlling both the conduct of the clergy and their possessions. It is in the following terms: "November 5th, 1529. The Sise delivers that is anens the lychts of the hie alter, we ordain the balzies to ger call Sir David Smyth, Sir Thomas Davison, Sir Robert Wolff, John Litstar, and William Wilson, and ye balzies to tak thair." It may be explained here that Sir David Smyth was the vicar, Davison and Wolff were chantry priests, Litstar and Wilson tenants of property belonging to the High altar, and probably also to those side-altars at which Davison and Wolff officiated. It would be charitable to

suppose that the question to be considered was merely one connected with the property of the altars, but the following minute, which is that of a meeting held only three days afterwards, shows that it concerned also the conduct of the priests : " 8th November 1529. Quo die, Sir Henry Louk, procurator and factour to the vicar of Linlithgow for the tyme, grants him in a fensit court in presens of the balzies, consale and communitie, that he will honestly uphald the lichts of the hie aluter, quhilk it perteins the vicar to uphald, that is to say, that the said procurator and factour sall licht twa farsiegis, with prikattis onne the hedis of thaim, with twa tortais on Satturdayis at the evinsang, and on Sondagis at the hie mes, and at the evyngsang, and upon all oydir festval dais in tyme to cum."

Notwithstanding the above undertaking the vicar's conduct does not seem to have improved, for, on the 20th October 1540, the magistrates have his conduct again under their consideration. In fixing the order of daily masses to be said by the chantry priests, they decree as to the vicar in the following terms : " And that the paroch clerk keip hie mess, matyngis, evyngsanggis, processionis, dailie, siclik, as the feftmen dois, that are feft chapellanis at the tounnis gyft, as his band proportis, with his surples, in the queyr for the administratioun of Goddis service ; also that the Sacrament lamp be dailie lychtit be the paroch clerk, or his servitouris, at fyve houris in the mornyng in somyr, and sex houris in winter, and that the paroch clerk ryng the matin bell at fyve houris in somyr and sex houris in winter, and to ryng the bell at evin, bayth somyr and winter, as consuetude is, and nychtlie to ryng curfowe, and to lycht the lamp till evyngsanggis, and in winter, as the feftmentis proportis."

The following minutes throw an interesting light on the manner in which the lay mind, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, contemplated the causes which were in operation, and which were shortly to produce the Reformation. They show that the clergy, like the ancient prophet, who attempted to " flee from the presence of the Lord," were asleep, and consequently unconscious of the danger, while the laymen, who were evidently much wiser, foresaw the impending disaster, and would, if they could, have saved the sinking ship. " 19th December 1541. The said day the Provost, Bailies, and consale of this burgh of Linlithgow, for the laud and honor of God omnipotent, and the halie archangel Sanct Mychael, patrone of the said burgh, and decor of the hie aluter, situat within the

paroch kirk of the samyn, thinks expedient that thar be lychtit twa prekattis ilk haly day apone the said aulter in tyme of the hie mes, and evinsang, quhilk sall burne fra the begynnyng of the said mes quhill the complet end thereof, and inlikewys at the evinsang, and that thair be twa torches lychtit at the elevation of the Sacrament of the hie mes and magnificat of the evinsang, at the lest." And of the same date there is the following: "That the Provost and Balzeis at thar said entries als vesye, se, and considar quhat albis, tunykkis, copis, chalice, and bukkis, and all other ornamentis of the hie aulter and thair queir, and caus the samyn to be observit, and kepit be the paroch clerk and his servands, that nane thairof be spilt, worne, want in their defalt, and that tha be tikkattit yeirly in the common buks, and that the said paroch clerk do his servis at tymes usit and wont." Again, on 2nd April 1543, there is this minute: "The quhilk day the Assys ordanis the Provost and bailies, with thair wele avisit Counsale, to pass on Wodynisday, the five day of Aprill instant, to the kirk of Linlithgow, and requyr the chaplains to concur with thame of the samyn, and thair to commoun and se gyf thair be ony faltis to Godis servis quhilk suld be done in the said kirk daylie, and quha hes the wyit thairof, or quharin the fale and falt is, and the Provost, Baillies, and yair wele avisit Consale with ane awyss of the brether and chaplanis of the said kirk, to causs all faltis to be reformat to the honor of God, our lady, and gud Sanctis."

It cannot be truly said that there is much evidence in the Records of the Town Council of Linlithgow of gross immorality on the part of the priests, for the fact that Sir William Cornwall lived in wedlock in defiance of a papal decree ought not to be regarded by Protestants as immorality, yet there is undoubted evidence of much carelessness and slovenliness in the discharge of their sacred duties, on the part both of the vicar and the chantry priests. There is also evidence that the magistrates at first were anxious to buttress the tottering church, as, at a later date, when they perceived the hopelessness of the task, they were anxious to secure for the town as much of the property which was about to be set at liberty as they could obtain.

The High altar possessed certain annual rents doted to the support of the lamp called "the lycht of St Michael," which was lighted not only when the vicar officiated at the public services on Sunday, but also when any of the chaplains were engaged in celebrating morning mass at the side-altars. It also possessed

other annual rents doted to the support of the "lamps and lychts of the Sacrament." The following were among the rents bequeathed for these purposes :—

I. Rent of the Light of St Michael.

From the tenement of John Fleming, lying in the said burgh between the land of John Corss on the west and the land of John Mane on the east, of ancient foundation xiiis. iiij*d*.

II. Rent of the Lamp and Light of the Sacrament.

From the tenement of the late William Barone, lying between the land of John Kincaid on the east and the land of Robert Dalrymple on the west, the gift of the late Andrew Bonyntoun iiis. iiij*d*.

From the tenement of Archibald Meluill, between the land of Alexander Cairnis on the east and the land of Thomas Calder on the west the donation of Dominus Patrick Lyssouris, chaplain, and James Foulis xs.

From the tenement of James Broun, and now John Mane, lying between the land of John Palmare on the east and the land of John Fleyming on the west, the donation of James Broun iis.

From the tenement of John Neilson, lying at the west end of the burgh, the gift of Robert Amysfield iiis.

From the tenement of John Ker, and now Robert Cunynghame, lying between the land of William Noble on the east and the land of Thomas Caveris on the west, the donation of Henry Levingstoun and George Parkle xij*d*.

From the tenement of Thomas Schaw, lying at the east end and port of the said burgh, the donation of William Brous iis.

From the tenement of John Cowpare, lying in the Kirkgate, the donation of Dominus John Harwode, chaplain xvij*d*.

From the tenement of John Jak, lying between the land of Thomas Foulis on the west and the land of John Frenche on the east, the donation of James Foulis iiis. vi*d*.

From the tenement of the late George Prestoun, now of the heirs of Thomas Gray, between the land of Patrick Hyne on the west and the land of William Auchinbey on the east, the donation of James Foulis iiis.

From the tenement of David Tait, lying between the land of John Nesbyt on the west and the land of Patrick Hyne on the east, purchased by John Foulis from John Waltoun iiis.

From the same tenement of David Tait, purchased by Alexander Foulis from George Parkle xxxd.

From the tenement of David Andersone, lying between the land of Robert Kynpoint on the east and the land of Henry Benyne on the west vid.

From the tenement of William Jamis, between the land of Henry Hamyltoun on the west, on the one part, and the land of Patrick Rackyne on the east, on the other, lying in the Middilraw vijd.

This is the annuell rent that aucht to the Sacrament lycht, anno domini i^a v^o xxxv^r :—

Item, Barron land	iiis. iiid.
„ Wille Beris land	xiiid.
„ William Crawford land	iis.
„ James Crawford land	xiiis. iiid.
„ Sir Thomas Johnson land	xs.
„ Galvin Duncane land	vid.
„ Robert Fosteris land	iiis.
„ Sir Thomas Johnstons land that umquhill pertenit to Pat Jak	iiis. vid.
„ John Sammell wester land	vs.
„ John Sammell eister land	xviiid.
„ Sir John Kynneir land	iiis.
„ James Nycholl land	xvid.
Summa	xlixs. vid.

Note.—The said day (Oct. 29th) it is sicers betwex the gud toun and Wille Wilson anent the Sacrament lycht, bayth of oile and wax, etc.—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgow.*

THE ALTAR OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY (BURGH)

THIS altar was founded by the burgesses of Linlithgow. The minute of 20th October 1540, in which the magistrates and Town Council appoint the order of masses to be observed by the chaplains, refers to this altar as that *quhilk the gud burgh fundit*.

On the 17th of January 1540, the Council appointed Sir Robert Akinheid a supernumerary chaplain in the church of Linlithgow, on the understanding that at the decease of Sir Patrick Newlands he should succeed to “the altar of our lady.”

The minute of agreement is in the following terms: "17th January 1540. The quhilk day ane discreet man, Schir Robert Akinheid, chaplane, comperit in jugment and proponit to be ane guid and trew servand to the Provost, Bailies, Consale, and communite of the burgh of Linlithgow, and to mak gud ordour honorabill and sufficient service in the Kirk and queyr of Linlithgow, at matynis, mes, and evinsange as us and consuetude usit, and to be usit in the said kirk and queir be the querestaris of the sammyn, for the quhilk cause the Provost, Bailies, consale, and cummunite of the said burgh sall content and pay to the said Schir Robert iiij lib. of money Scottis yeirlie ilk quarter, xxs. to be tane of the common guid yeirlie ay and qvhill the deceis of Schir Patrick Newlands, chapillane of the ladie autler, situat within the forsaid kirk; and eftir the deceis of the said Patrick, the saidis Provost, Bailies, consale, and communite for the tyme sall gyve and invest the said Schir Robert Akynhed to seryf and maune the said autler of our ladie, and sall bruik and jois all proffittis, commoditeis and emollumentis pertenant to the sammyn, lik as the said Schir Patrick his predecessor did of before. And mair, gif he ma uptene it with gud thanks and benevolence of the said burgh, and the said Schir Robert Akynheid sall uptake ane sang schull, now incontinent, and sall ken, instruk, and leir all bairnis that will cum thereto, and tak his payment therfor as *us* and wont was of befor; and mair, at the will of the frendis of the bairnis that he leiris eftir his gud doctryne and teichment to and attour all other service belanging to the kirk in ony other places to be excludit and away putt. And giff the said Schir Robert happynnis to faile or fault in the said service of our ladie altar (as forsaid is) or in kennyng or doctryne of the said *sange schull* or ony poynt of service (as said is), and it be prewit in his defalt, the foresaid altar sall vaik and sall cum in the Provost, Bailies, consale, and communites handis for the tyme, and tha to dispone thereupone as tha think caus, and baithe the said pairties faithfully and trewlie ar bundin to wthir to obseryf and kep the premisses lelely and trewle."

Among the burgesses made in 1541 was Dominus Patrik Newlands, chaplain of the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary, fundit by the burgh.

On the 19th October 1541, the Town Council decree that "our ladie alter be lychtit with twa impis ilk holiday at evinsang, and upon doubill and solempnit festis the said alter and all otheris with impis and torches as us *hes beyne* in tymes bypast."

The last chaplain of this altar was Schir Thomas Mustard, and the salary for which he gave the burgh the following receipt must have been among the last payments made to him :—

"I, Thomas Mustard, chaplane of our Lady Altar, situat within the parochie Kirk of Linlithqw, grants me to have received from William Park, maister of werk, of the said burt the sum of xxv lib. in compleit; payment of my haill zeirs fe of the term of Candlemes, in the fifty sax zear, and of the termis of Beltane, Lambes, and Alhallomas, in the fifty seven zeiris, of the quhilk sum I hald me weill content, and thankfully payit, and exoneris, quhitclamis and dischairges the said William in name and behalf of the Provost, Bailies, Counsale, and Communitie of the said burt and thair successouris for now and evir; be thir my presents subscrivet with my hand at Linlithgow the xxv day of August in the zeir of God ane thousand [five hundred] and fifty sevin zeiris, befor thir witnesses: James Hammiltoun of Parkle, William Johnstoun, with many others."

Having founded this altar, it was natural, and in a certain sense fair, that, at the great spoliation of church property, the magistrates should obtain its endowments, as they did by a charter from James VI. dated 8th May 1591. This charter was confirmed by Charles I. on the 17th November 1641.¹

The following were the endowments of this altar in so far as they are known :—

From the tenement of Thomas Forest, between the land of John Palmare on the south and the land of the late John Mure on the north iiij*s*.

From the tenement of the late Dominus David Crawford, now John Palmare, between the land of Patrik Harkis on the west and the land of Robert Amysfield on the east . . . xii*s*. iiij*d*.

From the tenement of Dominus de Dundas, between the land of Donald Pers on the west and the land of the late Adam Coningham on the east *vs*.

From the tenement of the late William Logan, between the land of Patrick Ka on the west and the land of the late David Baldirston on the east v*j**d*.

From the same tenement of William Logane, the gift of Jonete Logane, from her own lawful gains after the decease of her husband, William Logane xviiij*d*.

From the tenement of the late David Balderston, lying east of the said tenement of William Logane xij*d*.

¹ Cf. Chapter XI., pp. 153-4.

From the tenement of John Pringil and Alexander Leviston, between the lands of David Bonenton on the west and the land of the late William Thornton on the east ijs.

. From the tenement of the late Alexander Smyth, lying beyond the bridge vs. viij*d*.

From the tenement of the late Thomas Liston, east of the said tenement of Alexander Smyth ijs.

From the garden of Henry Leuyngston, lying in the Middilraw in the east iij*s*. ij*d*.

From the tenement and barn of the late John Galbraith iis. ij*d*.

From the tenement of Patrick Rate, in the Middilraw at the east port of the burgh ijs.

From the tenement of the late David Breich, lying on the south side of the street, between the land of the late Adam Thomson on the east and the land of the late Thomas Doby on the west vijs. vid.

From the tenement of John Palmare, lying on the south side of the street beyond the east port of the burgh xij*d*.

From the tenement of the late William Bald, between the land of John Ross on the east and the land of the late William Steel on the west xs.

From the tenement of the late Thomas Doby, afterwards Rounsyman, between the land of the late David Breich on the east and the land of Patrick Rate on the west vjd.

From the tenement of the late William Barone, between the land of John Limonde on the east and the land of Robert Dalrymple on the west ijs. ij*d*.

From the tenement of George Hamilton, between the land of Dominus de Halkhede on the east and the land of Thomas Cavers on the west ijs.

From the tenement of William Noble, between the land of Thomas Cauers on the east and the land of John Ker on the west xij*d*.

From the tenement of John Ker, between the land of William Noble on the east and the land of the late Thomas Cauers on the west xij*d*.

From the east tenement of Alexander Foulis, between the land of Thomas Forest on the east and the land of the said Alexander on the west iij*s*.

From the west tenement of the late John Binny, lying east of the tenement of the late Patrick Hyne vs.

From the tenement of the late John Gibson of Dunteruy, lying between the land of Robert Chalonar on the east and the land of Thomas Rede on the west iijs.

From the tenement of Archibald Byrd, lying between the land of the late John Chalonare on the east and the land of Patrick Ranald on the west iijs. vjd.

From the bakehouse of the Blessed Mary, lying in the Middilraw ixs.

From the tenement of John Child and David Henrison, between the land of David Kerss on the west and the land of the late Stephen Hugon viijs.

From the tenement of the late Stephen Hugon, lying between the land of David Henrison on the west and the land of Robert Smith on the east vs.

From the tenement of Thomas Lokhart, lying between the land of John Cowpare on the west and the land of James Foulis on the east (given by James Foulis) ijs. vid.

From the tenement of Thomas Foulis, lying between the land of James Caueling on the west and the land of John Jak on the east xijd.

From the tenement of John Jak, lying between the land of Thomas Foulis on the west and the land of John Franch on the east xvijd.

From the tenement of John Samel, and John Franche, fuller, between the land of Patrick Hyne on the west and the land of Henry Grant on the east xijd.

From the tenement of Henry Grant, east of the tenement of John Franche, fuller ijs.

From the tenement of David Rate, now John Samel, lying between the land of John Nesbit on the west and the land of Patrick Hyne on the east xvijd.

From the tenement of the late George Preston, between the land of Patrick Hyne on the west and the land of William Uchinbry on the east iijs.

From the tenement of Patrick Hyne, between the land of the late David Rate on the west and the land of the late George Preston on the east ijs.

From the tenement of Adam Colyn, between the land of the late William Preston on the west and the land of Matthew Meldon on the east xijd.

From the tenement of the late Matthew Meldon, lying west of the common vennel and torrent vd.

From the tenement of David Litstar, lying between the land of Thomas Forest on the west and the land of the late John Man on the east ijs.

From a perticate of land lying in the Barony.

From an acre of land lying in the territory of Carribber xij*d*.

Two acres of land adjoining the cross of the Blessed Mary Magdalene. The ancient Council-chamber of the burgh.

From the tenement of the late Stephen Balty, and now John Hamilton, lying between the land of the chaplain of the Trinity altar on the south and the land of the late John Hucheson ijs.

From the tenement of Gilbert Hamiltoun, annuatim, to support the lamp of the Blessed Marie iijs.

ALTAR OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY

(BEGIS)

THIS altar was founded by Robert Begs, or Begis, who founded also the altars of St Anne and St Brigid.

In 1502 the chaplain of the altar was Dominus Peter Hill, and in 1529 Dom. Henry Louk.

Among the burgesses made in 1541 was Dominus Henry Louk, chaplain of this altar.

"Quo die (xiii die mensis Aprilis anno domini i^m v^o xxxix) dominus Henricus Louk capellanus altaris beate Marie virginis situati in ecclesia parochiali de Linlithqw fundati per quondam Robertum Begg comparuit in curia predicta et presentavit tres discertas de terra et petra cepit ad tres curias capitales precedentes de tenemento Jacobi Hamiltoun in defectu solutionis annui redditus capellano dicti altaris et capellanis in anniversariis quondam domini Willelmi Crawford vicarii de Falkirk contentis et expressis debiti et non soluti petens vardam et iudicium quod ipse dictum tenementum cum pertinentiis dicti altaris obtinuit tanquam supra. Et tandem rotulamentis curiarum presedentium perlectis vocatisque partibus et possessionibus dicti tenementi semel secundo et tercio ad relaxandum prefatum tenementum et non comparentibus exspectato tempore dici legitimo et hora causarum prefata curia diligenter consultata petiit a prefato Domino Henrico Louk capellano si suam allegationem affirmare voluit per plagium quod incontinente fecit in manibus Patricii Knollis seriandi. Et post inventionem prefati plagii parte remota et curia consultata quidam sectator Robertus Robisoun ex deliberatione et consilio dicte curie

adiudicavit dictum tenementum prefato altari beate Marie Virginis et capellanis in dictis anniversariis contentis et expressis in feodo et hereditate pertinere pro defectu solutionis annui redditus supradicti, salvo tempore relaxandi a jure debito et consueto. Ac sigillum quo utabatur ad causas dicte curie burgi de Linlithqw propter maioris roboris firmitatem premissorum presentibus apponi dictus dominus Henricus Louk capellanus cum instantia procuravit. Coram hiis testibus Bethelomeo Brokkas, Johanne Ros, Johanne Thomsoun, Jacobo Brokkas dominis, Andrea Flemyng, Willelmo Jak et Jacobo Newland capellanis, cum multis aliis testibus."—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithqw*, p. 146.

The endowments of this altar were given to the magistrates of Linlithgow in 1591 by James VI., by a charter dated 8th May, which gift was confirmed by Charles I. on 17th November 1641.¹

"14th May 1623. Compeared (before the magistrates and Town Council of Linlithgow) James Hamilton of Parklie, and came in will for his bygane annuals addebted to the kirk since the decease of his mother, whilk was seven or aucht year syne, furth of his tenement by and in the said burgh sometime pertaining to Sir James Hamilton, viz., ane annual rent of xxiis., debted to the altar founded by Robert Beigis to the blessed Marie."

The following were the endowments of this altar, in so far as they are known :—

From the tenement of William Thornetoun, lying between the land of John Pringill on the west and the land of William Thornetoun on the east viis.

From the tenement of the late Thomas Burne, and now John Carne, lying between the land of the late Alexander Smyt on the east and the land of Andrew Ruch on the west iijs.

From the tenement of John Deass, lying between the land of Gilbert Drew on the east and the land of William Bald on the west vs.

From the tenement of the late John Rate, and now Patrick Rate, lying between the land of the late Thomas Doby on the east and the land of the late John Langtoun on the west iis.

From the tenement of the said late John Langtoun, lying east of the tenement of Henry Livingstoun xiid.

From the tenement of John Ker, lying between the land of

¹ Cf. Chapter XI., pp. 153-4.

the late William Noble on the east and the land of the late Thomas Caveris on the west *xxs.*

From the tenement of the late Patrick Hathweye, lying between the land of William Carnys on the east and the land of Cuthbert Purdy on the west *xxiis. iiiid.*

From the tenement of the late Walter Layng, lying between the land of Thomas Calder on the east and the land of the late Robert Kinpoint on the west *xiiis. vid.*

From the tenement of Thomas Calder, lying west of the tenement of the late Archibald Meluill *iiis.*

From the tenement of the late John Corss, lying between the land of John Fleming on the east and the land of John Kers on the west *vs.*

From the tenement of the late Robert Hathweye, lying between the land of the late Laurence Litstar on the west and the land of the late David Rate on the east *iis. vid.*

From the tenement of the late William Hill, lying between the land of John Frenche on the west and the land of David Baxtare on the east *vis.*

From the tenement of Thomas Caveris, lying between the land *iiijs.*

From the tenement of William Ranald, lying between the land of John Cowpare on the east and the land of Stephen Forrester on the west *iiijs.*

From the tenement of the late Rudolph Wild, lying between the land of the late John Gray on the west and the land of Alexander Hamilton on the east *xvis.*

From the tenement of the late Robert Amysfield, lying between the land of the late Rudolph Wild on the west and the land of William James on the east *xivs.*

From the tenement of Stephen Forrester, lying between the land of William Ranald on the east and the land of the late David Smyt on the west *ixs.*

From the tenement of John Cowpare, lying

From the tenement of the late Thomas Forrest, lying west of the market of the said burgh *xxxvis.*

From the tenement of the late Robert Hathweye, lying between the land of Thomas Wilson on the east and the land of the late George Melvill on the west *iiijs.*

From the tenement of Edward Brown, lying at the east part of the said burgh *xvs.*

THE ALTAR OF SAINT ANNE

THIS altar was founded by Robert Begs, or Begis, who founded also the altars of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of St Bryd. It is usually described as "the second altar founded by the late Robert Begis."

Schir William Jak was presented to the altar of St Anne by the "Balzies, Consale, and communite of Linlithgow" on the 4th February 1529, "he giffand his band of service to the tounne in the maist sekыр forme thaat cane be devisit."

In 1538 he obtained possession from "the heid court of the burgh" of two contiguous tenements in the High Street belonging to William Foulis, within the said burgh, on the south side of the street, between the land of Janet Empsfield on the west and the land of Henry Forrest on the east, on account of the said Foulis failing to pay the annual rent of 40s. due to the chaplain of the said altar.

On the 26th August 1541, Dominus William Jak, the chaplain of the altar of St Anne, was made a burgess of Linlithgow.

The endowments of this altar were given to the Town Council of Linlithgow by James VI. on the 8th May 1591, to support the reader and bellman of St Michael's Church, which gift was confirmed by Charles I. in 1641.

Among the endowments of this altar were the following, viz.:—

From the tenements of the late John Walton, and now Alexander Foulis, lying between the land of Thomas Forrest on the east and the land of James Amysfield on the west xls.

From the tenement of Thomas Forrest, between the land of the said Dominus John Fresale on the east and the land of Alexander Foulis on the west xiijs. iiijd.

From the tenement of David Baxtare, lying between the land of William Hill on the west and the common vennel on the east xvs.

From the tenement of John French, lying between the land of John Jak on the west and the land of William Hill on the east iijs.

From the tenement of Robert Chaloner, lying between the land of the late Thomas Todrick on the east and the land of John Gibson on the west viijs.

From the tenement of the late John Mure, and now John Litstar, lying between the land of the late Thomas Tailzeor on the west and the land of Henry Kynnele on the east xxxs.

From the tenement of the late Thomas Rede, lying between the land of John Gibson on the east and the land of Patrick Hyne on the west xx*s*. iii*d*.

From the tenement of Stephen Robertsoune, lying between the land of John Rithving on the west and the land of John Schaw on the east vijs.

From the tenement of the late John Turffis, lying between the land of James Pettigrew on the east and the land of the late William Forsith on the west xiijs. iii*d*.

From the tenement of Patrick Ka, lying between the land of the late John Smal on the west and the land of the late William Logane on the east vs.

From the tenement of the late John Mure, lying between the land of Thomas Forrest on the east and the land of Henry Warwick on the west xxx*s*.

From the tenement of Matthew Meldon, between the land of Thomas Colyne on the west and the common vennel on the east xiijs. iii*d*.

ALTAR OF ST CATHERINE

THERE is no indication in any existing document of the founder of this altar.

St Catherine of Siena was a favourite with the great and noble family of Seaton, the Douglas branch of which had a connection with Linlithgow in early times. In Linlithgow a Douglas, on the decease of David II., made known to the assembled States of the kingdom his intention of disputing the claim of the Steward to the Scottish throne. To a branch of the Seaton family, St Catherine was indebted for her principal house in Scotland, which was near Edinburgh, and the memory of which is still preserved in the name *Sciennes*, given to a district of that city. It is therefore probable that the altar in Linlithgow church owed its origin to some member of the Douglas family. It occupied the south transept of the church, popularly known as "St Catherine's aisle."

The Town Council were the patrons of this altar, as we find from a minute of date 25th November 1529. The minute is as follows: "The balzies and thair assessoris continewis the donation of the alter of Sanct Kathrine quhill Monunday that next cummis, that is the xxix day of November instant, and

warnis all partys that has ony interest or donation to the gift of the said altar to bring thair rychts with thaim the said day as thai will wyne and tyne, and that the officiars pass out trouch the tounne and warn all the neighbouris to cum to the Tolbooth the said day, under the pain of an unlaw unforgivne."

"1st October 1537. The quhilk day Robert Robison, officiar, passed with Schir William Cornwall, chapellane of Sanct Katherine aulter to ane tenement of land liand on the north side of the Kingis street, betwex the landis of James Harde on the west syd et terras cessas Sancte Marie fundate per Robertum Beg ex parte orientali, and thar fand nathing poyndabill for xiiis. annuel awand the chapillane of the said aulter, and thar the said seriand tuk erd and stane of the said grownd, and deliverit to the said chapellane, quhilk chapellane cum in jugment befor the said balzeis and present the said eard and stane. And the said seriand maid the aitht of fidelite togeddar with the witnes present for the tyme, that is to say, Adam Weddale, Robert Thomsoun, Robert Hamyltoun, and Robert Mayne, that the said tenement was nocht strenzeabill et sic fuit et est verum quod quidem tenementum olim pertinebat Johanne Harde."

In the regulations issued by the Town Council as to the order of services in St Michael's Church, the chaplain of St Catherine's altar was assigned the fifth mass, to be celebrated at 7.30 A.M. in summer, and 8.30 A.M. in winter.

"3rd January 1612. The quhilk day, in presence of me, notare publice and witnesses underwritten, personally compeirit within the Paroch Kirk of Linlithgow, callit Sanct Michaelis Kirk, in the ile thaireof callit Sanct Katherine Ile, Robert Ker, Sheriff and Town Clerk of Linlythgow, chaplain of the said alterage, with the Provost, Baillies, and Counsall of the said burgh for thamselffis, and in name of the communitie of the samyne burgh, undoubtit patronis of the said altare, and thair the said Robert for certane guid causes and considerations moving him and for certain gratitude, guid deids and pleisouris done be the said Provost, Baillies, and Counsall of the said burgh of Linlythqw to him, off his awin free motive, will, resignit, surranderit and simplie ourgave, lyk as be the tenour of this present instrument, Resignis, remittis, surranderis, and simple ourgiffis fra him, his airis and successouris, to and in favour of the said Provost, Baillies, Counsall, and communitie of the said burgh and thair successouris, All and hail the chaplainrie and alterage of the said altar callit Sanct Katherine altar, somtyme

situat and fundit within the said paroch Kirk of Linlithqw callit Sanct Michaelis Kirk, togidder with all lands, rentis, fruittis, proffeitis, few-maillis, annuel rentis and other emolumentis thairof whatsomevir perteing to him as chaplain of the said chaplenrie and alterage to remain with the said Provost, Bailleis, Counsall and communitie and their successouris undoubtit patronis thairof forsaid ad perpetuam remanentiam be delyverance in the hands of Robert Stewart, Provost of the said burgh for himselff and in name of the Bailleis, Counsall, and Communitie thairroff of ane psalme buik as use is, with power to the saidis Provost, Bailleis, Counsall and Communitie, and thair successouris to uplift, resave, and intromit with all and quhatsumevir lands, fruitis, rentis, proffeitis, few-maillis, annuel rentis, and other emolumentis, quhatsumever perteing and belonging to the said chaplenrie and alterage of the said altare callit Sanct Katherine altare, and to use and dispoine thairupoun as thay sal think guid, and as frelie in all respectis as the said Robert ony wayis might have done himselff befoir the making of the said resignation. In witness," etc.

Notwithstanding the above transaction, the endowments of the altar of St Catherine are included in the gift by King James VI., of date 8th May 1591, and in the confirmation by Charles I., of 17th November 1641.

An acre of arable land belonging to this altar was sold in 1581 by Schir William Cornwall, chaplain, to Mr William Powrie, schoolmaster in Linlithgow, and Agnes Forrest, his spouse, in conjunct fee, and to their heirs, for a yearly payment of xxis. iiiid. of feu-ferme, with duplication at the entry of each heir. This acre of land had been granted to the altar by John Forrest of Magdalens, and Helen Cornwall, his spouse. The wife of William Powrie was Agnes Forrest. The chaplain, therefore, who was himself a Cornwall, was only preventing the Town Council from obtaining property which had originally belonged to his family, and which, with some reason, he may have thought they had no right to receive.

Mr William Powrie, schoolmaster in Linlithgow, became afterwards minister of Abercorn (for the schoolmasters much more than the ancient priesthood seem to have supplied the first Protestant ministers), and we find his son-in-law, who was also his nephew, being infested by the Town Council of Linlithgow (17th February 1637) "In all and hail 3 acres of land in the Burroughmuir, and in all and hail an 8 shilling land

of Masonpark, extending to a sixth part thereof, and in the sixth part of the bog and peat acre ; and also another precept for infesting him as heir to his said guidfather in all and haill an acre of arable kirkland belonging to St Bryd's altar, sometime situat within the kirk of Linlithgow, and in all and haill an acre of land called St John's acre, and likewise another precept for infesting of the said William as heir to the umquhile Mr Alexander Powrie, his father, in all and haill an acre of arable land sometime belonging to Saint Catherine's altar—Salvo jure cujuslibet."

Another portion of land belonging to St Catherine's altar is accounted for by the following minute : "3rd March 1638. The which day the Provost, Bailies, and Council subscribed a precept of *clare constat* for entering of Henry Kaa as heir to the umquhile James Kaa, his guidfather, to an acre and three roods of land held of St Catherine's altar, he paying to the Treasurer the double of the feu-duty, £7, 7s., and likewise ordains him to be entered to the tenement held of the Priory of St Andrews, he paying the Treasurer at his entry £9."

"13th March 1640. The which day compeared in presence of the said Provost, Bailies, and Council, Mr George Ogilvie, schoolmaster, and as procurator for Harry Kaa, burgess of the said burgh, made resignation of that acre of land and three roods of land pertaining to the said Harry (sometime belonging to St Catherine's altar, and now held of the said burgh), in the hands of the said Provost, Bailies, and Council superiors thereof, by delivering of staff and baton in the hand of the Provost for himself and in name of the rest of the Council, as use is, in favour, and for new infestment thereof, to be given to Robert Bell, his heirs and assignees, and command given to the clerk to subscribe the charter granted to the said Robert upon the said resignation for those that cannot write."

"11th January 1679. The which day the Council subscribed a precept of *clare constat* to George Bell as son and heir to umquhile Robert Bell, merchant, to an acre and three roods of land belonging to St Katherine's altar, for payment of 44 shillings Scots yearly, ordaining him to pay 44 shillings Scots as a year's duty for his entry."

Another portion of the land with which the altar of St Catherine was endowed found its way first to the Cornwalls, and afterwards to other families in the district, as we learn from the following minute : "25th January 1639. The which day the

Provost, Bailies, Dean of Guild subscribed a charter of confirmation of two acres of land of the lands of Bonnytown, sometime haulden of St Katherine's altar, granted by umquhile John Cornwall and his spouse to umquhile John Gluffer and Christian Wilson, his spouse, and likewise subscribed a precept of *clare constat* for infefting of Helen and Isobel Glover (sisters to umquhile John Gluffar), and William Gardiner (son to umquhile Margaret Glover, likewise his sister), as three heirs of the four heirs-portioners to him—to the said two acres of land, *Salvo jure cujuslibet.*"

It was at the altar of St Catherine, according to tradition, that James IV. was praying when "the beloved Apostle John" appeared

"In azure gown, with cincture white,"

and forewarned him of the disasters of Flodden field.

That James IV. sometimes worshipped in the chapel of St Catherine, appears from the following entry from the "Treasurer's Accounts": "The xxv Novembris 1490, in Lythgow, to the King to offer at St Katrynis mess, xviijs."

In 1488 Schir John Rutherford was chaplain of the altar of St Catherine, and in 1502 Schir Andrew Logan.

The following were the rents of the altar of St Catherine:—

From the eastern tenement of the late William Thornetoun, lying between the land of the said William on the west and the land of the late John Syme on the east xs.

From the tenement of the late John Glassforde, and now of Domini Henry and James Erkil, on the east of the torrent, at the east end of the said burgh vijs.

From the tenement of the late Thomas Bell, lying on the east of the tenement of the said Domini Henry and James Erkil . ijs.

From the tenement of the late John Innwraven, lying on the east of the tenement of the late Thomas Bell ijs.

From the tenement of the late John Robertsoun, weaver, lying east of the said tenement of the late John Innwraven . vs.

From the eastern tenement of the said John Robertsoun, weaver, adjacent thereto ijs.

From the tenement of John Carmichaell, lying between the land of Cuthbert Purdy on the east and the land of Arthur Kincade on the west vijs.

Three acres of land near the cross of the Blessed Marie Magdalene, in the Barony.

Two acres of land lying in the territory of Bonnytown.

From the tenement of John Mane, lying between the land of John Palmare on the east and the land of John Fleyming on the west (the gift of Robert Hamiltoun) xiijs. iiij*d*.

From the tenement of John Were, lying on the north side of the High Street, between the land of the Lord Abbot of Cambuskenneth on the west, and the land of the late James de Carnys on the east, in security for twelve merks (the gift of the said late Robert Hamiltoun) xiijs. iiij*d*.

From the tenement lately belonging to Gavin Carmichell, now belonging to William Seller xxvjs. viij*d*.

From the tenement of the late Henry Lanye, between the land of David Bennet on the west and the land of the late John Gray on the east, the gift of Dominus James Balgernye, rector of Slamanan xxs.

From the tenement of the said late John Gray, now of Alexander Hamiltoun (the gift of the said late Dominus James Balgernye) xxs.

From the tenement of the late John Pamer xiijs. iiij*d*.

THE ALTAR OF SAINT ANDREW

IN 1529 Sir Andrew Fleming was chaplain of this altar.

In the same year we have the following reference in the minutes of the Town Council to a new chalice and paten for St Andrew's altar: "Item, anens the chalice pertenyne to Sanct Androis altar, the Sis delivers that Sir Andrew Flemyn sal Mc a cop of silvyr and a Pattyne of silvyr of vi unss, Sir Andrew Flemyn to pay the tane half of the cost that beis maid uppon the said chaliss, and the townne the todir halff, quhat evyr it cost."

The position assigned to this altar in the order of masses decreed by the Town Council was the sixth; that is to say, the chaplain of this altar celebrated mass each morning in summer at 8 o'clock A.M., and in winter at 9.

The statement made of the other altars, in regard to the gift of the endowments to the Town Council of Linlithgow by James VI. and the confirmation of that gift by Charles I., applies to this altar also.

The altar of St Andrew possessed the following annual rents, viz. :—

From the tenement of Roland Wilsoune, between the land of

Nichol Wryt on the west and the land of Thomas Forrest on the east xs.

From the tenement of Thomas Cavers, lying between the land of George Hamilton on the east and the land of the late William Noble on the west xiijs. iiij*d*.

(The above was given in security for twelve merks, until the said Thomas Cavers or his heirs shall repay the said sum to the Bailies and community of the said burgh, for the price of a merk of annuel rent for the support of a chaplain of the said altar, in a convenient place.)

From the tenement of the late Robert Kinpont, lying between the land of William Henrysoun on the east and the land of the late David Andersoun on the west xs.

From the tenement of David Baxtare, lying between the land of William Hill on the west and the land of Adam Gibbsoun, and now Duncan Newlands, on the east vs.

From the tenement of Dom. Henry and James Erkill, lying between the land of Rankin Duncan on the west and the land of the late David Bonytoun on the east xij*s*.

The underwritten annual rents were the gift of Adam Cavers, viz. :—

From the tenement of James Paton, at the east end of the burgh, on the south side of the High Street, between the lands of Stephen Forrester on the east and the land of Andrew Wolff on the west xs.

From the tenement of the late Thomas Restoun, lying in the Kirkgate, south of the vicar's manse

From the tenement of the late Mr John Cavers, lying between the land of Robert Amysfield on the west and the land of the late Andrew Ruch on the east xx*s*.

From the tenement of the late Gilbert Andersoun, and now Donald Pers, lying between the land of Andrew Ruch on the west and the land of Dominus de Dundas on the east vs. ij*d*.

From the tenement of the late Alan Lambor, lying between the land of Thomas Sideserf on the west and the land of Thomas Forrest on the east xx*s*.

From the tenement of the late Thomas Bell, afterwards James Millare, lying east of the tenement of the said late Thomas Bell iiij*s*.

From the tenement of the late William Stewyns, lying between the land of the late William Bald on the east and the land of the late Adam Thomson on the west xs. ij*d*.

From the tenement of the late Thomas Dobie, lying between the land of the late David Breich on the east and the land of Patrick Rate on the west vjs.

From the east tenement of Henry Wernock, lying west of the tenement of the late John Mure vs.

From the west tenement of the said Henry Wernok next adjacent iijs.

From the tenement of the late John Forestare, lying between the land of the late George Melville on the east and the land of Thomas Gowan on the west vjs.

From the tenement of Janet Wolff, lying between the land of Robert Smyt on the west and the land of John Nesbyte on the east vjs.

From the tenement of the late John Christane, and now John Nesbyte, lying between the land of Janet Wolff on the west and the land of the said John Nesbyt on the east vs.

From the tenement of the said John Nesbyt, between the land of the said John on the west and the land of the late Thomas Johnneston on the east xs.

THE ALTAR OF SAINT PETER

IN 1530 Dominus William Jak was chaplain of this altar.

The Town Council in their order for the rotation of masses gave the chaplain of St Peter's altar the eighth place; that is to say, 9 A.M. in summer, and 10 A.M. in winter.

The endowments of St Peter's altar were given to the Town Council of Linlithgow by James VI. on the 8th May 1591, which grant was confirmed by Charles I. on the 17th November 1641.

The principal portion of the endowments of this altar consisted of a fourth part of the Farm of Lochhouse, in the parish of Linlithgow, given by "the late Christina Jameson." In 1626 these lands were in the possession of William Drummond of Riccarton. They now belong to His Grace the Duke of Hamilton.

The following were the annual rents of this altar :—

From the tenement of the late Thomas Forrester, lying at the west end of the said burgh, between the land of David Wilson on the east and the land of the late William Wilsoun on the west vis. viiij^d.

From the tenement of the late John Christane, lying between

the land of the late David Nesbyt on the east and the land of the late John Lourison on the west (the donation of William Howistoun) *xd.*

From the tenement of Henry Grant, lying between the land of John Frenche on the west and the land of Christian Hathwye on the east (from the donation of William Howistoun) . . . *xd.*

From the tenement of the late David Breich, lying between the land of the late Adam Thomson on the east and the land of the late Thomas Doby on the west *ijs.*

From the tenement of the late John Langtoun, and now John Kincaid, between the land of Patrick Rate on the east and the land of Henry Livingston on the west (new recognition) *ijs. vjd. and xxxd.*

From the west tenement of the late Thomas Listoun, lying between the land of the late John Galboazt on the west and the land of the said Thomas Listoun on the east *iis. vid.*

From a piece of land called the Madyrzaird *vis. viijd.*

Also the fourth part of the lands of Lochhous, given by the late Christina Jameson, and assigned to the late Michael de Hamiltoun (the annual rent to be paid for her brother's debt) *xls.*

From the tenement of John and David Kiriss, on the north side of the High Street, between the lands of Patrick Cunningham on the west and the lands of the late Matilda de Aberlady on the east (given by William de Houstoun) *xs.*

THE ALTAR OF SAINT NINIAN

IN 1521 the chaplain of St Ninian's altar was Sir John Ross, and in 1550 Dom. James Newlands.¹

In the regulations drawn up by the Town Council, 20th October 1540, for the order of daily masses, the chaplain of St Ninian's altar was assigned the second place—that is to say, 5.30 A.M. in summer, and 6.30 A.M. in winter.

The endowments of St Ninian's altar were given to the Town Council of Linlithgow by James VI. on the 8th May 1591. On 24th July 1592, the Council obtained letters of charge against the "feuars, fermorers, tenants," etc. of the annual rents and duties pertaining to this and other altarages given to them. The gift of James VI. was confirmed by Charles I., 17th November 1641.

¹ Newlands was chaplain of the altar of St Ninian, and also of the altar of St Sithe.—*Liber curiae capitalis Burgi de Linlithgow*, and October 1531.

The rents of St Ninian's altar were as follows, viz.:—

From the tenement of John Wood, lying on the south side of the High Street, between the land of the said John Wood on the east and the land of Mr Patrick Young on the west (per David Bonytoun) iiis. iiijd.

From the tenement of William Crawford, lying on the north side of the High Street, between the land of the late John Small on the east and the land of Thomas Forrest on the west (given by John Cowpare) vis.

From the tenement of John Chalunare, lying on the south side of the High Street, between the land of William Forsyth on the east and the land of Archibald Byrd on the west (conceded by John Cowpare) xis.

From the tenement of Patrick Hyne, lying on the south side of the High Street, between the land of the said Patrick on the east and the land of Patrick Davidsoun on the west (per Johannem Cowpare fundat.) vijs.

From the tenement of Archibald Byrd, lying on the south side of the High Street, between the land of the late John Chalunar on the east and the land of John Young on the west (per Johannem Cowpare fundat.) iis.

From the tenement of Patrick Ranald, now John Young, lying on the south side of the High Street, between the land of Archibald Byrd on the east and the land of Duncan Walker on the west (per John Cowpare concess.) ix.

From the west tenement of Henry Erkill and James Erkill, chapelains, lying in the Middelraw, between the land of the bakery of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the east and the land of the late Patrick Hatkyn on the west (per dictum Johannem Cowpare fundat.) vjs.

From the tenement of John Gray, lying on the north side of the High Street, between the land of John Rydyn on the east and the land of Henry Kynuele on the west (per Joannem Cowper concess.) xiijs.

From the tenement of David Andersoune, lying on the south side of the High Street, between the land of Robert Kynpount on the east and the land of Henry Young on the west viijs.

From the tenement of Thomas Foulis, on the south side of the High Street, between the land of Patrick Davisone on the east and the land of James Scott on the west (fundat. per Johannem Zung) xjs.

From the tenement of James Scott, lying on the south side

of the High Street, between the land of Thomas Foulis on the east and the land of Gilbert Hamiltoun on the west (per dictum Johannem Zung concess.) xs.

From the tenement of Robert Glen, lying on the north side of the High Street, between the land of the late Robert Wolff on the east and the land of Robert Smyt on the west (per Dominum Johannem Muffat fundat.) iijs.

From the tenement of John Adamsoune, lying in the Middilraw, between the land of the said Patrick Hatkyn on the east and the land of John Kers on the west (per dictum Patricium Hatkyn fundat.) xs.

From the tenement of Thomas Sideserff, on the north side of the High Street, between the land of James Lanark on the east and the land of Mr Alexander Inglis on the west (fundat. per uxorem dicti Thome) iijs.

From the tenement of the late Andrew Logane, lying on the north side of the High Street, between the land of the late Patrick Kaa on the west and the land of the late Dom. James and Henry Erkill on the east (fundat. per Dominum Andream Logane) viijs. iiij^d.

From the tenement of John Chalonare, lying on the south side of the High Street, between the land of William Forsith on the east and the land of Archibald Byrd on the west (per Dominum Andream Logane fundat.) ixs.

Also from the tenement of Peter Neilsoune, lying on the north side of the High Street, between the land and the land of David Kerss on the east (fundat. et dat. per Dominum Andream Logane) ivs.

THE ALTAR OF SAINT BRIDE

THIS altar was founded by Robert Begs, or Begis, the founder of the altars to the Blessed Virgin and to St Anne. In 1502 the chaplain was D. Thomas Bartholomew.

"Saint Bride was the patron saint of the heroic family of Douglas, whose help they invoked in sudden peril; by whose name they vowed; on whose festival they dated their acts of beneficence, munificence, or charity; before whose altar they chose their graves. On St Bride's day, or the 1st of February, in the end of the year 1329, at the park of Douglas, 'good Sir James of Douglas' being then about to depart for the Holy Land with

the heart of his royal master, bestowed on the monastery of Neubottle his half of the land of Kilmad, the other half of which it already possessed by gift of Roger de Quincy, while the monks on their part became bound to sing a mass at St Briget's altar within their abbey church yearly for evermore, and to feed thirteen poor folk, that the Saint might make special intercession with God for the weal of the good Knight."¹

In 1529 Sir Thomas Johnstoun was chaplain of St Bride's altar, and also common clerk of the burgh of Linlithgow. He was succeeded in the chaplaincy by Schir Thomas Davisoun.

Under date 13th April 1534, the Records of the burgh of Linlithgow contain the following references to this altar: "The quhilk day comperit in jugment James Robisoun, and ther avisatie dilivered, resignit, and ourgave all his rycht, claim, petitour, and possessioun, hes had or to be had of the tenement of land lyand at the est end of Linlithqw, betwex the lands of William Danyelstoun on the estir pairt and Schir John Perry, chapillane, on the west, into the handis of Schir Thomas Davisoun, chapillane of the aultir of Saint Bryd, and to be brukit be him and his successouris chapillanis of the said aultir."

"The quhilk day James Robisoun, burgess of the said burgh, comperit in jugment before the balzes, consale and communitie of the foresaid burgh, resignit and ourgaf ane tenement of land in the handis of Johnne Crumme, ane of the bailzes of the said toune, with the pertinentis, in favouris of Schir Thomas Davisoun, chapillane of Sant Bryddis aultir, situat and fundit within the parochie Kirk of Linlithqw, the quhilk tenement of land with the pertinentis sua resignit and ourgewin, then the said balze incontinent passit to the said tenement of land lyand within the burgh forsaid, betwex the landis of William Danzelstoun on the est pairt and Schir Johne Perry, chapillane, on the west syd, and ther the said Schir Thomas Davisoun, chapillane, resignit and ourgave the said tenement of land with the pertinentis togiddir with the taile reggis, liand on the northt syd of the said burgh, betwex the landis of Johne Kincaid on the estir pairt and William Denzelstoun on the west pairt, in favoris, behuf, and proffit perpetuall to remaine with Johne Saltoun, burgess of the said burgh, his airis and assignais, then the said Johne Crumme, balze forsaid, the resignation sua mad be erd and stane gyf heretable state and possessioun to the said Johne Saltoun of the said tenement of land and thre riggis with the pertinentis be gyft of

¹ *Registrum de Neubottle* (preface).

erd and stane and investit and inducit him in the samyn as us of borroage is eftir the forme and tenour of his evidentis mad to him therupon."

In 1592 the Privy Council granted to the Provost and Bailies of Linlithgow "letters of charge against the fewars, fermourers, tenants, etc., astrictit in payment of the annual rents and duties pertaining to the alterages, etc., within the parish kirk of the said burgh, to be used and applied to the sustentation of the Reader and Bellman serving the said kirk." The altars are enumerated, the list including the altar of St Bryd, and the payment of the annual rents is to be made under pain of "wairding in the castle of Dumbarton."

Sometimes the Town Council had difficulty in collecting their annual rents. "14th March 1623. Compeared James Hamiltoun of Parklie, and came in will for his bygane annual rents addebted to the kirk since the decease of his mother, quhilk was seven or aucht years syne, furth of his tenement liand in the said burgh some time pertaining to Sir James Hamiltoun; viz., ane annual rent of twenty-three shillings and fourpence debted to the altar foundit by Robert Begis to the Blessed Marie; ane annual rent of twenty shillings debted to the Trinity altar; and ane annual rent of twenty shillings debted to the said altar; extending in the hail to three punds, three shillings, and fourpence."

"The council for guid consideration moving them, and considering the said James's willingness to do his duty in all things he aucht to do to the town, by thir presents discharges him the said annuals of all time preceding the term of Martinmas last, the said James payand the said annuals of the term of Martinmas last was, and termly in time coming."

"17th February 1637. The which day the said Provost, Bailies, and Council has subscribed a precept of *clare constat* for infetging of William Powrie as heir to umquhile Mr William Powrie, minister of Abercorn, his guidfather, in all and hail three acres of land in the Borroughmuir, and in all and hail an eight shilling land of Masonparks, extending to a sixth part thereof, and in the sixth part of the bog and peat acre; and also another precept for infetging him as heir to his said guidfather in all and hail an acre of arable Kirkland, belanging to St Bride's altar, sumtyme situate within the kirk of Linlithgow; and in all and hail an acre of land called St John's acre."

"10th October 1657. The same day John Mitchell, upon his supplication, and other respects, is discharged of all bygane Kirk

annuals due by him forth of his tenement, to St Bride's altar, preceding the year 1657 exclusive."

The following annual rents belonged to St Bride's altar, viz. :—

From the tenement of Thomas Forrest, lying between the land of John Mure on the north and the land of John Palmare on the south vjs.

From the tenement of the late John Mure, and now Thomas Forrest, lying between the land of Alexander Smyt on the west and the land of David Litster on the east xxs.

From the tenement of Alexander Bennet, lying west the Wynd vjs.

From the tenement of Duncan Ruch, lying between the land of Alexander Bennet on the east and the land of Duncan Litster on the west xviiis. viiid.

From the tenement of the said Duncan Litster, on the west of the tenement of Duncan Ruch viiis. viiid.

From the tenement of the late Andrew Tailzeor, lying between the land of the late John Tailzeor on the east and the land of the late David Cowpare on the west vs.

From the whole tenement of the late John Tailzeor, lying between the land of John Wilson on the east and the land of the late David Cowpare on the west xs.

From the tenement of the late James Caeling, lying in the Kirkgate (in vico ecclesie) xs.

From the arable land of Henry Kaa, and from the barn and road, lying at the east end of the said burgh, and in the Magdalenside, which lands now belong to the heirs of the late James Gillone xxxvs.

From the tenement of the late George Locke, in the Middilraw, at the east end of the said burgh iiis. viid.

From the tenement of James Schaw, lying between the land xviiis.

From the tenement of David Wilson, lying at the west end of the said burgh, and from an acre of land called the Gyldakir, xvis.

From the tenement of the late John Toddrik, lying between the land of Henry Kynnele on the west and the land of the late John Mure on the east xiiis. iiiid.

From the tenement of the late Gilbert Andissone, and now Donald Peris, lying between the land of Andrew Ruch on the west and the land of Dominus de Dundas on the east xvis.

From the tenement of William Thomson, now Henry Kynniell, lying between the land of the said Henry on the west and the land of Laurence Litster on the east . . . xvis.

ALTAR OF THE HOLY TRINITY

THE founders of this altar were two brothers, Henry and James Erkill, both of whom were priests. James was chaplain of the Magdalen Hospital, at the east end of the burgh.

King James IV. was present in Linlithgow church on Trinity Sunday (17th June) 1492, and gave a donation of ten shillings to the light of the Trinity altar.

In 1496 the charter of the founders, James and Henry Erkill, was confirmed by King James IV., in which confirmation their donations to the altar are enumerated. A list of these is given along with others at the end of this notice.

In 1536 the chaplain of the altar was Sir William Davisoun. "The quhilk day (24th August) James Robisoun, Johnne Ros, balzeis of the burgh of Linlithqw, deliverit to Schir William Davisoun, chaplane of the Trinite aultir, situat within the kirk of the said burgh, ane feddir bed, ane boster, ane vardour, and ane pair of schetis, prysit be Johnne Caling, James Nycholl, James Jamesoun, and Johnne Baxstar; the price of the feddir bed with the boster, xxviii shillings; the price of the vardour, x shillings; the price of the schetis, sex shillings: summa, xliiii shillings. The quhilk bed, boster, vardour, and schetis he sal uphold, and sal leif thame to his successour of the said aultir als gud as tha ar apprisit to him."

"4th February 1540. The quhilk day William Waude confessit in jugment awand Schir William Davisoun, chaplane, xvs. for the walk-myn male, to be pait within terme of law," etc.

"The said day" (a later portion of the same minute), "Katherine Wolffe is becomit souerte to Schir William Davisoun, chaplane, for William Waude, walkar, to pay the said Schir William his male termelie eftir the tenour of ane assedatioun quhilk the said William Waude hes of the said Schir William, ay and quhill the ischaw of the said letter of tak and assedation," etc.

"31st March 1542. The quhilk day ane discret man, Schir William Davisoun, chaplane of the Trinite aultar, situat within the kirk of Linlithqw, comperit in jugment and followit and

persewit Robert Hamiltoun *alias* Blas, for the wrangus and violent occupying and manuring of ane aker of land pertenant to his forsaide altar, and for the wrangus sawin of the samyn eftir the said Schir William had gart teill it upone his expens; the said Robert Hamiltoun beand and his wyf lauchfulle warnit be the said Schir William his wyf personallie apprehendit and himself at his dwelling-place quhilk was lauchfulle and orderlie prowyt be officeris, and sufficient witnes tane upone the said warnyng and dischargyng of him and his wyf of the manuryng thairof in tyme cummyng. The quhilk thing being lauchfulle proivit than the Provost and Balleis and the assyssouris of the court decretit and deliverit that the said Robert Hamiltoun and his spous had done wrang for thair intronissioun with the said akir of land, and ordainit the officiariis to charge him and his spous fra all intromettin thairwith in tyme cummyng without his licence, tak, or assedatioun," etc.

"21st January 1563. The Consale concludes that the Trinite autler be disponit to sum qualifyt persoun for conservation of thair donatioun, and the patrimony thairof assynit fra him to the common welth."

"William Knollis dissentit to the donation thairof to ony persoun, and protests quhat be done thairanent prejugé him not nor his titil, nor hurt to him fordder nor he is astrickit in his feu charter."

"The quhilk day it is concludit be the consale that the Trinite altar be disponit in maner following: for conservation of thair privilege of thair donation to Patrick Kinloquhy, minister, that he acceptand the samin sall incontinent thairefter dimit and assigne to the communite of Linlithqw the propirte and patrimonie thairof, and for payment of the samin sall make sufficient mandate and procuratory to thame and to the Thesaurer of the toune in calling and persewing thairfor, and als sall bind and obliss him to dimit and resyne the titill thairof, in favour of the communite patronis thairof how soun he beis requirit thereto, to be usit be thame undoutit patronis as tha sall think expedient."

"The quhilk day [same date as above, but evidently at a later hour], Patrick Kinloquhy, minister, acceptit the gyft of the Trinitie altar within the kirk of Linlithqw, and the consale dotit the said Patrick thairwith, and institut him thairin, be deliverance of ane buke in his hand, and thairupon the Thesaurer, Alexander Ka, tuke instruments."

"The quhilk day Patrick Kinloquhy dimittit to the communite of the burgh of Linlithqw and thair commonweill the annuel rents, males, profitis, dewties, and emoluments thair of, to remane with thame, and uptane be the Thesaurer, to be applyit to the commoun affairs, reservand to him alanerlie the titill, quhilk titill the said Patrick binds and oblisshes him to dimitt, resyne and ourgaf to the Counsale and communite how soun tha fynd expedient to employ the samin to sum commoun affair, and als sall mak procurators the provost, baillies, and Thesaurer of the burgh, to persew for the proffitis thair of.

"(Signed) PATRICK KINLOQUHY, minister of God's word."

"30th March 1564. It is statute that the redar be payit of the annuel rents of the Lady altar, Begs altar, Trinite altar, Lady lamp, and St Michael's lycht, according as the Counsale sall modify, quhill forder order be payit."

"8th February 1622. Ordains the persons addebted in payment of the annualis to the altar which pertained to the minister to be warned ad viii."

The following annual rents belonged to the Trinity altar, viz. :—

From the tenement of Robert Duncan, lying on the north side of the High Street between the land of Henry Erkill and James Erkill chaplains on the east, and the land of Andrew Logan on the west is.

From an acre of land of Patrick Ka, lying on the north side of the road leading to the hospital of St Mary Magdalene, between the land of St Marie on the east and the land of John Cowpare on the west xs.

From the tenement of Robert Amysfield, lying on the north side of the High Street, between the land of John Caveris on the east and the land of John Palmare on the west xiiis. iiij*d*.

From the tenement of William Cairnis, lying on the south side of the High Street, between the land of William Patersoune on the east and the land of the late Patrick Hatwye on the west, xls.

From the tenement of John Palmare, lying on the south side of the High Street, between the land of Robert Parcle on the east and the land of John Ayan on the west viijs.

From the tenement of William Hill and William Boyse, lying on the north side of the High Street, between the land of Thomas Colyne on the east and the land of Thomas Gray on the west xijs.

From the tenement of David Hamiltoune, lying on the north

side of the High Street, between the land of John Cowpare on the east and the land of Andrew Scott on the west xxs.

From the bakery, and our whole tenement, lying in the Middilraw, between the land of John Johnstoune on the east and the land of Patrick Hatkyn on the west xls.

From the tenement of Thomas Schaw, on the north side of the High Street, between the common burn running towards the loch (inter comunem torrentem decurrentem versus lacum) on the east and the land of Edward Broune on the west vijs.

From the tenement of Cuthbert Purdy, lying on the west side of the High Street, between the land of Patrick Hathowye on the east and the land of William Carmichaell on the west xxs.

From the west tenement of Alexander Foulis, lying on the south side of the High Street, between the land of the said Alexander Foulis on the east and the land of James Aimysfield on the west viiis.

From the tenement of James Aymisfield, lying on the north side of the High Street, between the land of Henry Kynel on the east and the land of William Hyll on the west iijs.

From the tenement of John France, lying on the north side of the High Street, between the land of William Hyll on the east and the land of John Jak on the west vs.

From the tenement of Archibald Crawford, on the north side of the High Street, between the land of David Newlands on the east and the land of Thomas Forrest on the west xs.

From the tenement of John Nicoll, in the Kirkgate, on the north side vjs.

From the tenement of David Barrye, on the south side of the High Street, between the land of Robert Smyth on the west and the land of Andrew Walker on the east vs.

From the tenement of William Cairnis, for a mass *nominis Jesu*, and lights xxs.

From the tenement of the late Dominus Andrew Logane, lying on the north side of the High Street, between the land of Domini James and Henry Erkill on the east and the land of Patrick Kaa on the west (founded by Janet Logane) viijs.

Also, from the same tenement (founded by Dominus Andrew Logane) xxs.

Also, from the tenement of Robert Duncane, lying on the north side, a room *with balcony* (founded by Domini Henry and James Erkill for the chaplain of the Trinity altar).

A tenement of land pertaining to William Knollis.

The charter of James and Henry Erkill, confirmed by King James IV. in 1496, conveys to the Trinity altar the following bequests :—

From four perticates of land belonging to John Forrest, at the east end of the burgh of Linlithgow, on the south side of the High Street xvs.

From a piece of land called *the Halmer*, in the same place vs.

From the tenement of William Cairnis, on the south side of the High Street of the said burgh xls.

From the tenement of William Balty, on the north side of the High Street viiis.

From the tenement of Henry Kynnell, on the north side of the High Street xs.

From the tenement of John Schaw, on the north side of the said street xs.

From the tenement of John Smawe, in the Myddilrawe viiis.

From the tenement of the late Henry Hamiltoun, in the Myddilrawe xs.

From the tenement of William Jamieson, on the north side of the High Street iiis.

From the tenement of the late Archibald Byrd, on the north side of the High Street vis.

From the tenement of the late John Coupare, on the same side of the street iiis.

From the tenement of the late James Taveling, on the same side of the street iiis.

From the tenement of Symon Weir, on the south side of the same street iiis.

From the tenement of William Hill, on the south side of the same street iiis.

From the tenement of the late Matthew Meldrum, on the south side of the same street ivs.

From the east tenement of the late John Forrest, at the east end of the town, in the Barony of the said burgh . vis. vid.

From the land of James Arkill, chaplain, on the north side of the High Street iiis. lxx.

THE ALTAR OF ST SITHE

IN 1534 the chaplain of the altar of St Sithe was Sir James Newlands.

"18th January 1534. The quhilk day Johne Wawane comperit in jugment, and confessit that he became dettour for William Foulis to content and pay Schir James Newlands, chaplane of St Sythe's altar, the soume of xxvis. viii*d*. usuale monie, the quhilk the balzes ordanit to be pait within terme of law."

"6th September 1633. The quhilk day James Pairk producit and deliverit to the Council his father's gift of the alterage of St Sythe's alter, with twa pair of letters raisit conform thereto—the last is past 1630—with ane rental of the alterage, with ane decreet of the lords of the Council interponit to the said gift, dated the saxt day of Februar 1586."

The patronage of St Sithe's altar seems to have been bestowed on the Earls of Linlithgow. It is referred to in a charter of the year 1696 as belonging to them, more than a hundred years after the altar itself had ceased to exist.

None of the annual rents or possessions belonging to this altar have been traced, with the exception of the following, viz. :—

From the tenement of Thomas Foulis, lying on the south side of the High Street, between the land of Patrick Davisoun on the east and the land of Thomas Gray on the west xs.

The tenement of Thomas Bartholomew on the north side of the High Street, between the land of John Mure on the west and the land of Patrick de Foulis on the east—the tenement all and haill was given to St Sithe's altar in 1444.

ALTAR OF ST JOHN BAPTIST

THIS altar was founded for the welfare of the soul of Mr Patrick Young, deacon of Dunkeld. The founders were Dom. Patrick Young, precentor of the cathedral church of Dunkeld, and John Young, provost of the collegiate church of Methven.

On the 18th of June 1532, "the Balzeis, consale, and haill communitie of the burgh of Linlithqw, with ane ful consent and assent, consents in plane judgment that Sir William Davisoun, chaplane, haif yerly and termely, six merks of the common guddis of Linlithqw siclik as Sir James Cornuell had ay and quhil that St Johnis altar be vacand or ony udir altar in the Kyrk of Linlithqw gif that the said Sir William Davisoun, chapellan, plesis to tak the said altar that vakis citar than Sanct Johnis altar. The said Sir William Davisoun to mak his band to the gud tounne that he

sal dailly kep mess, evinsangis, and porcessionis, siclik as the laif of the bredir of the Kyrk dois with his surpluss til be in the quir. And quhen that thai syng mattynis that he sal kep thaim. And ay til be reddy for the doying of Goddis service on festuall dais and oder dais gif that thai syng mess, mattyns, and evinsang. And quhat tyme that the said Sir William Davison getts ony altar that he be contentit of, incontinent thairefter he sall gif our the said sex merkis to the said towne and til be als fre to thaim as quhen that thai conditionat the said six merkis to the said Sir James Cornuell. And this the said Sir William Davison obles him to kep and fulfil *in verbo sacerdotii*."

By the regulations of the Town Council (20th October 1540) mass was celebrated at the altar of St John the Baptist each morning at 7 o'clock.

On the 24th July 1592, the annual rents belonging to this altar were confirmed by the Privy Council to the magistrates of Linlithgow "to be used and applied to the sustentation of the reader and bellmen serving the parish Kirk of the said burgh."

"28th February 1623. Ordains the Treasurer to make compt, reckoning, and payment of the annualis bygane addebt to St Johne the Baptistis altar."

In 1625 the magistrates threaten to poynd the goods of the occupants of certain houses in the burgh of Linlithgow for the annual rents belonging to this altar, unless they are immediately paid.

On 17th November 1641, Charles I. confirmed to the Provost, Bailies, Council, and community of Linlithgow, the charter given and granted by his Majesty's umquhile dearest father, King James VI., in which he bestows on the town, "all and sundry lands, tenements, fruits, rents, and dewties whatsomever belonging to the altar of St John the Baptist."

A reference to the lands belonging to this altar occurs in a charter by James V., of date 6th December 1542, in which he concedes to William Danyelstoun, his heirs and assignees, nine acres of land lying around the burgh of Linlithgow, viz.: six acres contiguous to Magdalenside, between the lands of the Hospital of the Blessed Magdalene, those of the altar of St John, within the Parish Church of Linlithgow, and the public street—the said lands being held by Catherine Hamilton, spouse of Thomas Pettigrew, Lyon King-at-arms, in life rent—and three acres occupied by the late John Spens, viz.: an acre at a place called Maderyard, between the lands of the said William Danyelstoun

and William Hamilton in Pardovan, a torrent called Bellisburne, and the lands of the said William Danyelstoun of Bernishill, and two acres contiguous to Bernishill, between the lands of the said William Hamilton, and John Danielstoun, rector of Dysart, and the street leading to the port of Blackness.

Among the endowments of this altar were the following, viz. :—

From the tenement of Alexander Bennet, lying between St Michael's Wynd on the east and the lands of Duncan Rutch on the west vis. viii*d*.

From the tenement of Robert Dalrymple, lying on the south side, between the land of William Barone on the east and the land of John Crawford on the west xs.

From the tenement of John Crawford, between the land of Robert Dalrymple on the south and the land of the late John Wood on the west xls.

From the principal tenement of Dominus Patrick Young, precentor of Dunkeld, between the land of John Wood on the east and the land of Dominus de Halkhede on the west xls.

From the tenement of George Hamilton, between the land of Dominus de Halkhede on the east and the land of Thomas Candois on the west vis. viii*d*.

From the tenement of John Candois, between the land of John Ka on the east and the land of William Qhwhitsonne on the west iis.

From the tenement of Christian Hathwye, between the land of David Grant on the west and the land of William Yill on the east iiiis. vi*d*.

From the tenement of the late Laurence Litster, lying between the land of John Kynnele on the west and the land of the late Andrew Stoupishall on the east vis. vi*d*.

From the tenement of Dominus Halkhede and Thomas Spens, lying between the land of Clement Gray on the north and the land of the late John Mure on the south xiiis. iii*d*.

From the tenement of John Palmare lying between the land of Thomas Forrest on the north and the land of John Crawford and Andrew Ruch on the south vis.

From the tenement of the late Adam Cunninghame, between the land of Dominus de Dundas on the west and the land of the late Thomas Sideserff on the east vs.

From the tenement of Edward Burn, between the land of Thomas Forrest on the west and the land of Thomas Schaw on the east iiis. vi*d*.

From an acre of arable land, above the cross of the Blessed Mary Magdalene, between the land of our lord the King on the east and the land of Andrew Ruch on the west ix.

From half an acre of arable land lying in the Magdalenside, between the land of Patrick Kaa on the east and the land of the late James Gillone on the west iiiis. vid.

From a particate of land lying in the Magdalenside, between the land of the late James Gillone on the east and the land of Archibald Boyd on the west iis. vid.

From half an acre of arable land in the Magdalenside, between the land of Patrick Ranald on the east and the land of John Forrest on the west iiiis. vid.

From an acre of arable land lying west of St Michael's Wynd ix.

From an acre of land called St John's acre, lying between the land of John Deass on the east and the land of John Brown of Tidmyrtolshun on the west xiiis. iiiid.

(Which acre of land is assigned, from ancient times, towards the support of a lamp in front of the altar of St John the Baptist.)

A room of the principal tenement of Dominus Patrick Young, precentor of Dunkeld, is bequeathed and given for the use of the perpetual chaplain celebrating at the altar of St John Baptist, as is more fully set forth in the foundation charter of the said altar.

ALTAR OF THE HOLY CROSS (OR HOLY ROD)

IN 1530, and for a considerable time afterwards, Schir Henry Mitchell was chaplain of this altar.

When the Town Council, in October 1540, ordained that there be each hour a mass from five in the morning till noon in summer, and from six till noon in winter, which rule, they declare, is "to be kept in honour of God and the holy kirk," they assigned to *the Rude altar* the earliest hour, viz., 5 A.M. in summer, and 6 A.M. in winter. By this time, however, Sir Henry was too old for such early hours, and the Town Council, with a commendable consideration, added this exception to their order: "And because Sir Henry Mitchell, chaplain, is an elderly man and may not keep the said service, the said Provost, Bailies, and Council foresaid, ordains the master of work whatsoever being for the tyme, to answer a chaplain who

takes over of the said mass-saying, at the hour foresaid, siclike as Schir Robert, town's chaplain, is answered of now presently, which extends to, in the whole, *four merks, eight pence*, ay and quhill the said Rude altar vaik and come in the good town's hand."

"6th May 1541. The quhilk day the Provost, Bailies, Consale and their assissouris, decernis and determines that the Decane of the Talzour craft beand for the tyme sall yeirlie gyve to the chaplane of the Rud alter quhatsumevir, to furnes him vyne, vex, and bred to the mes, by his four shillings quhilk the said decane gewis the said chaplane on the four offerand dais, uthir four shillings quhilk makkis in the hale yeirlie *viii shillings*, and that to be paid to Sir Henre, chaplaine of the said alter for the tyme."

"The said day Mechell Gibbisoun, decane of the tailzour craft, protestit that the Act, maid be the Provost, baillies, and their assissouris, to Sir Hendre Mechell, chaplane of the Rud aulter, anent the iiis. to find the said chaplane wyne, wax, and breid yeirlie, turne the said Dekin and their craft to na prejudice by use and wont."

"19th December 1541. The said day the Provost, Baillies, and consale for this burgh of Linlithqw, for the lawd and honour of God omnipotent and the haly archangel Sanct Mychaell, patron of the said burgh, thinkis expediant that our Lady aulter and the Rud be lychtit with twa impis ilk haliday at Ewingsang, and upone dowbill and solempnit festis, the said alters and all utheris with impis and torchis as us hes beyne in tymes bypast."

The following were the annual rents belonging to this altar, in so far as is known, viz. :—

From the tenement of John Kaa, lying on the north side of the market of the said burgh xxvis.

From the tenement of William Cowane, in the Kirkgate

vis. vij*d*.

From the tenement of John Nicholl, in the said Kirkgate vjs.

From the tenement of John Cowpare, in the said Kirkgate

vjs.

From the tenement of John Gray, now Thomas Masonne's, in the said street ijs. ix*d*.

From the tenement of Dominus Alexander Massone, chaplain, in the said street iis. vij*d*.

The said Dominus Alexander Massone, chaplain, gave

all and whole the said tenement to the chaplain of the altar of the Holy Cross under this condition : that there should be celebrated yearly an anniversary or obit on the day of his death for his soul, and the souls of all the faithful dead.

From the tenement of the late William Saltoun, now in the hands of Eufamie Adorner, lying in the said Kirkgate iis. vjd.

From the tenement of the late John Frenche, now in the hands of the said Eufamie, in the said Kirkgate ix.

From the tenement of the late James Caueling, now in the hands of the said Eufamie, in the said Kirkgate iiiis. iiiid.

From the tenement of Henry Livingstone, adjoining the cross in the said street ijs.

From the tenement of Henry Grant, between the land of John Frenche on the west and the land of the late John Hathowye on the east ijs. iiijd.

From the east tenement of the late David Cowpare, between the land of the late John Tailzer on the east and the land of the said late David on the west xiijs.

From the tenement of the late John Thomsone, and now John Wilsonne of Bonwarstoun, between the land of the late John Tailzer on the west and the land of the late John Malcosone on the east viijs. vid.

From the tenement of the late Patrick Wrycht, and afterwards Stephen Forrester ijs.

From the tenement of the late William Forsyth, and now the heirs of David Hamiltoun, between the land of the said late David on the east and the land of the late John Chalonare on the west xs.

From the tenement of the late Thomas Sideserff, between the land of the late Adam Cunynghame on the west and the land of the late Allan Lambok on the east vis.

THE ALTAR OF ST SALVATOR

IN 1488 James IV. attended the celebration of mass at St Salvator's altar in Linlithgow, and made an offering of xviis.

In 1532 the chaplain of this altar was Schir Thomas Johnstoun.

The same year, Sir Thomas Johnstoun had a case heard in the Burgh Court of Linlithgow against one George Bard, who

had appropriated the land belonging to St Salvator's altar, with the result that Bard or Baird was enjoined by the Court to produce his evidents "by what rycht or titil of rycht he bruikis the said lands."

Among the obits given in the appendix will be found two which were to be celebrated at the altar of St Salvator.

THE ALTAR OF ST JOHN THE EVANGELIST

THIS altar seems to have been founded by a member of the ancient and honourable house of Hamilton.

In 1539 James V. confirmed a charter by which he conceded to James Hammiltoun of Fynart "the lands of Kincavill, with the parkis and mylne in the county of Linlithgow, and the patronage of the alter of the Blessed John the Evangelist within the Parish Church of Linlithgow."

Sir Thomas Johnstoun was chaplain of the altar of St John the Evangelist in 1540, and continued to hold it at least till 1569. He succeeded Dominus William Jak. Sir Thomas Johnstoun was made a burges of Linlithgow on 12th August 1541.

Queen Mary, by a charter dated 20th April 1565, confirmed to James Hamilton of Crawfordjohn, Knight, along with numerous possessions "the patronage of the altar of St John the Evangelist within the Parish Church of Linlithgow."

On the 4th October 1589, James VI. bestowed on James Hamilton of Larbert, son and heir-apparent of James Hamilton of Crawfordjohn, Knight, the possessions of his father, including "a tenement of land with garden in the burgh of Linlithgow, and the patronage of the altar of Saint John the Evangelist within the Parish Church of Linlithgow."

On the 11th June 1611, King James VI. granted to James, Marquis of Hamilton, with many other possessions enumerated in the charter, "*hospitium et tenementum infra burgum de Linlithqw cum donatione altaragii S. Johannis evangeliste in ecclesia parochiali de Linlithgow.*"

On the 17th January 1617, James Hamilton of Kettleston-mains obtained a charter from King James VI. which conferred on him and his heirs "a house and tenement of land with garden in the burgh of Linlithgow, which formerly belonged to James Hamilton of Avondale, "with the patronage of the altar of St

John the Evangelist in the Parish Church of Linlithgow, and the annual rents of the said altar."

In 1642 a tenement of land belonging to the altar of St John the Evangelist became the property of William Smith or Ritchie, who was infested in it by a precept of *clare constat*, as heir to his late father, William Ritchie.

In 1638 Anne, Duchess of Hamilton, and Lady Susana her sister, as heirs-portioners of James, Duke of Hamilton, received by charter "a tenement of land in Linlithgow, with the patronage of St John the Evangelist's alter in the Kirk of Linlithgow."

A portion of the endowments of this altar consisted of an annual rent from the land of John Cavers, situated on the north side of the High Street.

The Hamiltons have had a close connection with Linlithgow from very early times. It was a Hamilton of Kincavill, in the parish of Linlithgow, who was the first martyr of the Scottish Reformation, and a Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh who from a house in Linlithgow shot "the Good Regent."

ALTAR OF THE HOLY BLOOD

IN 1529 Sir James Cornwall was chaplain of the altar of the Holy Blood.

In the "grete count of the common gud of Linlithqw" for 1528 there is mention made of "land quhilk pertenis to the Haly blud mess."

The following agreement between Cornwall and the Town Council of Linlithgow was made in the year 1529. "Quo die (22nd November). It is appointit and concordit betwex Schir James Cornwall, chapellane of the Haly Blud alter, onne the ta part, Balzeis, Consal, of Linlithqw, onne the todir part, in maner and furme as eftir folowis, that is to say: That the said Schir James sal cum hame to the toune of Lithqw at the fest of the purification of our Lady callit Candilmes next and immediat followand the date of this Act Mackyne and to entyr to the service of the quere in syngyne of matyngis, messis, and evynsangis, dailly as the laif of the breidir of the Kyrk dois with al processionis, for the quhilk causs the said balzeis, consal, sal pay yerly and termely to the said Schir James, vi merkis of usual mone of Skotland at twa usual termes of the yeir, that is to say, Witsonday, and Mertimes in wyntir, be evinly portions, of the common purse

and sal ger thair maister of werk answer yeirly and termly for the said vi merks to the said Schir James quhill that the band be fulfillit that we maid to the said Schir James of fore, and the said Schir James is oblisit to fulfill the premisses be the faith and treuth of his body *in verbo sacerdotii*, and siclik the balzies byndis thaim and thair successouris to fulfill the premisses to the said Schir James."

The altar of the Holy Blood is mentioned in a charter by Peter Newlands, burgess of Linlithgow, in which he bequeathes a sum of money to each of a certain number of chaplains of the parish church of Linlithgow "for the obit and anniversary of the deceased James Nasmyth and Elizabeth Louk, his spouse, to be celebrated yearly."

King James IV. frequently heard mass at the altar of the Holy Blood in St Michael's Church, and made offerings towards its support, as for example on the 13th January 1502, when his offering amounted to xivs., and on 21st July of the same year, when it amounted to xiiis. Numerous examples of this might be given from the Treasurer's Accounts.

THE ALTAR OF CORPUS CHRISTI

THIS altar was founded by Mr William Foulis, archdeacon of St Andrews and vicar of Edinburgh.¹

In the order of masses made by the Town Council of Linlithgow, on the 20th October 1540, the chaplain of Corpus Christi is appointed to celebrate mass at 9.30 A.M.

This altar is mentioned in the "obit" of James Naysmith and Elisabeth Louk, which was celebrated thereat.²

As in the case of the other altars, the endowments of the altar of Corpus Christi found their way to the common purse of the burgh of Linlithgow which has not been anything enriched thereby.

The following were among the annual rents of this altar, viz. :—

From the tenement of Patrick Harkis, lying between the land of the late David Bonnyngtoun on the west and the land of the late Dom David Crawford, chaplain, and now John Palmare. xxviiiis.

From the tenement of the said John Palmare and the late Dom David Craufurde viij*d*.

¹ *Fragmenta Scoto-Monastica*.

² *Vide* List of Obits, p. 337.

From the tenement of Alexander Carnys, lying between the land of the late Matthew Meldon on the east and the land of the late Archibald Meluill on the west viijs.

From the tenement of the late Henry Mandby, and now of Henry Kynnele, lying between the land of the late Robert Litster on the west and the land of the late John Todrik on the east xs.

From the tenement of Matthew Favewey, lying between the land of Duncan Walder on the east and the land of John Malcomsoun on the west xiijs. iiijd.

From the tenement of Thomas Mason, lying in the Kirkgate, between the land of John Cowpare on the south and the tenement of the altar of Holy Cross on the north—the gift of Dom John Cantok, chaplain iiis. iiijd.

In the town of Edinburgh were the following :—

From the tenement of the late Robert Michael ls.

From the tenement of the said late Robert Michael, lying in St Mary Street (in vico beate Marie), in the said burgh of Edinburgh xxjs. viijd.

From the tenement of the late Robert Reidpeth, lying adjacent to the Netherbow liijs. iiijd.

THE ALTAR OF ALL SAINTS

THIS altar was founded by the Hamiltons of Kincavill. In 1502 Dominus Robert Mane, rector of Monyabrach (Kilsyth), was chaplain of the altar of *All Saints* in the parish church of Linlithgow, and obtained from King James IV. a charter of novodamus, granting to him its endowments.

The chaplain of the altar of All Saints is referred to in an unimportant minute of 14th January 1537, but without being named.¹

The advowson of this altar was forfeited to the king by James Hamilton, formerly of Kincavill, who, like his more celebrated brother, Patrick Hamilton, had espoused the cause of reform. The words of the charter (6th December 1542) are : “Ac advocationem, donationem, et jus patronatus capellanie, seu alteragii altaris omnium sanctorum infra dictam ecclesiam de Linlithqw, que fuit Jacobi Hammyltoun olim de Kincavill, et regi devenit eo quod dictus Jacobus ex heresis convictus fuit.”²

¹ *Burgh Records.*

² *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum.*

By the same charter the advowson, with certain lands in the neighbourhood of Linlithgow, is conferred on William Danyelstone, his heirs and assignees. The Danyelstouns, one of whom became Bishop of St Andrews in a manner little creditable, possessed considerable property in Linlithgow, and seem to have been natives of the burgh. Besides the Bishop of St Andrews, there was a William Danyelstone, who was keeper of the Palace of Linlithgow, John Danyelstone, who was rector of Dysart, and a Robert Danyelstone, who at that time was one of the bailies of Linlithgow. The Danyelstones are represented as having "plundered the town of Linlithgow and the adjacent country."¹

"Master Walter of Danyelstone,
That 'Lithgow grieved in Lothiane."²

The annual rents and possessions of the altar of All Saints, in so far as known, were the following :—

A tenement of land within the said burgh of Linlithgow, on the south side of the High Street.

Another tenement of land in the town of Blakness.

From the land of John Carswell, on the north side of the High Street xiiis.

From the tenement of James Schaw xiiis.

From the tenement of John Rannald, in the Middilraw of the said burgh xxss.

From the tenement of Thomas Liston, with the Maderyard of the same xxss. ivd.

From the tenement of John Nicholson, in the Kirkgate of the said burgh vis. ivd.

An acre of arable land at the east end of the said burgh.

From another source we learn that the altar of All Saints had also an annual rent of ten shillings from the tenement of John Wood, lying between the land of John Crawford on the east and the land of Mr Patrick Young on the west, which annual rent was given by the said John Wood.

THE ALTAR OF ST ANTHONY

THE altar of St Anthony seems to have been founded by the Livingstons of Middle-Binning.

In 1561 the chaplain of this altar was one Alexander

¹ Lyon's *History of St Andrews*, vol. i., p. 193.

² Wyntoun's *Chronicle*.

Livingston, who with the consent of Robert Livingston of Middle-Binning, the patron of the altar, feued for a certain sum of money, to John Livingston second son of the said Robert, and his heirs and assignees, certain temple-lands in the farm of Gogar in Midlothian, and the temple-lands of Bormie, in Linlithgow parish.¹

In 1607 the patronage of the altar of St Anthony was given with the temple-lands of Bormie and Whitebauks to David MacGill, heir of Mr David MacGill of Cranston-Riddell (one of the ordinary senators of the College of Justice), his father.²

In 1656 the MacGills of Cranston-Riddell were still in possession of the temple-lands of Balvornie and Whitebauks, and "the patronage of the chapell situated at the altar of St Anthony, within the paroch kirk of Linlithgow." The proprietor, at the above date, was Robert MacGill, who had also the lands of Little Parkley and Bonside, in the parish of Linlithgow.²

In October 1690, the lands of Whitebauks and Balvornie, and the patronage of the altar of St Anthony, within the parish church of Linlithgow, became the property of George, Earl of Linlithgow, as heir to his father, who must have acquired the lands foresaid from the MacGills.²

In November 1696, James, Earl of Linlithgow, succeeded his uncle George, and obtained possession of the lands of Bormie and Whitebauks "cum advocacione capellanie fundatae et situatae apud altare de St Anthonie infra ecclesiam parochialem de Linlithgow." ²

The obit of Elisabeth de Livingston, late spouse of Robert de Livingston of Middil-Binning, who died in 1448, was celebrated at St Anthony's altar on the 26th of July annually. This obit was founded by Henry de Livingston of Middil-Binning, who bequeathed annual rents amounting in all to 14 shillings for its support.

With the exception of the above, we have found no trace of the annual rents belonging to this altar.

The Livingstons also founded and endowed with considerable possessions a chapel at the east end of the burgh of Linlithgow, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary.³

¹ *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum.*

² *Inquis. Retorn. Abbreviatio.*

³ Cf. pages 328-9. Also Obit XXV., p. 346.

THE ALTAR OF ST ELIJUS (OR ST ELOI)

ST ELIJUS was born near Limoges, in France, and reared as a smith. In early life he was sufficiently irreverent to place over the door of his smithy the blasphemous sign : "Eloi, maître sur maître, maître sur Dieu."

One day, it is said, a youth of noble bearing entered his smithy and requested employment. While they were arranging terms a yeoman called, asking that a *cast* shoe should be replaced at once, as he was on urgent business. The horse being restive Elijus was proceeding to bind it in a travis, when the stranger assured him it was unnecessary, and volunteered to do the work. On obtaining permission, he cut off the horse's leg, fixed the shoe, and replaced the leg without the horse having lost a drop of blood, or suffered any discomfort. By this and other miracles of a similar character, Elijus is said to have been led to recognise his mysterious helper, to remove his blasphemous sign, and to become a Christian. What is certain is, that he was Bishop of Noyon from 640 to 658, and that he acquired a great reputation for sanctity, and as a miracle-worker.

It is probable that the altar in Linlithgow Church dedicated to Elijus was founded by the fraternity of smiths. They were at a later date responsible for the upkeep of one of the windows, a duty which in earlier times was associated with supporting the lights of an altar. But there is no reference in the Records of the Town Council to this altar ; and indeed, but for the mention of it in an obit, we should not have known of its existence.¹

The following are the only annual rents belonging to the altar of St Elijus which we have discovered :—

From the front part of a tenement formerly belonging to the late Mr John Moubray, rector of Ecclesmachan, and from him belonging to the late John Ross, and now belonging to Thomas Thomson, merchant xls.

From the back part of the same tenement, formerly belonging to the late John Mayne, now Mr Robert Keir xls.

¹ See Obit XX., p. 344.

THE ALTAR OF ST NICHOLAS

ST NICHOLAS of Myra was a popular saint in the Middle Ages, both in the East and in the West. He was regarded as the patron of little children, and also as their exemplar in piety. Because of certain miracles which he is reputed to have performed, he was exceedingly popular with sailors. If the late Dean Stanley may be accepted as an authority as to his character, he was a Christian of a somewhat pugilistic type, who in his religious fervour did not hesitate to box the ears of heretics. A considerable amount of what formerly was believed regarding Poseidon seems to have been transferred, by the Greek Christians, to St Nicholas. His popularity even in western lands was such that some hundreds of churches were dedicated to him in England, and a considerable number in Scotland. Among the latter was the parish church of Uphall, which till the seventeenth century was called the Church of St Nicholas, Strathbrock. His festival frequently took the form of a "children's day"; and at Salisbury and some other places a boy-bishop was elected, who, arrayed in full pontifical attire, presided over his fellow-choristers till the following Innocents' Day.

Linlithgow appears to have been one of the places where the ceremony of electing a boy-bishop was practised. It is therefore possible that the ceremony was much commoner than is supposed, though it can be traced now only at Salisbury, and a few other places, where the muniments have been more carefully preserved than elsewhere. The Treasurer's Accounts for the reign of King James IV. show that the election of a boy-bishop was customary in Linlithgow during that reign, and that it received the countenance of the monarch, whose donations to the St Nicholas bishop are frequently recorded. Two examples are subjoined, viz.: 1496. Item, in Linlithgow, to Sanct Nycholas Beschope, xxviiiis. 1503, in Linlithgow, to Sanct Nicholas beschope, xxviiiis.

The *altar*, however, which is mentioned in various obits, must not be confounded with the quaint ceremony by which the ancient Church sought to attract the young, and interest them in her services.

No list of the endowments of this altar has been found.

THE ALTAR OF ST CONAN

VERY little is known of St Conan. He seems to have lived in the middle of the twelfth century, and to have been a companion of St Chroniacus. The bones of the latter saint, there is reason to believe, were preserved in a silver shrine by the nuns of Manuel; which fact occasioned pilgrimages being made to that ancient convent, from all parts of Scotland, during the three centuries preceding the Reformation.¹ St Conan, on the other hand, had an altar dedicated to him in Linlithgow Church. These facts seem to claim for Celtic missionaries the honour of having converted West Lothian to Christianity. They also show that the ancient Celtic saints were held in honour by the people of Scotland, even to the era of the Reformation, when the altars of all the saints, whether Celtic or Roman, were unceremoniously removed from the churches. St Conan is described as a man who combined "rare intellectual fertility with great simplicity of manners."²

Of his altar in Linlithgow Church nothing is known beyond the fact of its existence. And if that fact had not been preserved by *an obit*, in which the priest of St Conan's altar was to take part, even it should not have been known.³

THE ALTAR OF ST JAMES

THIS altar seems to have been founded by King James I. In 1429 the priest attached to it was one William de Lany, who is described as "chaplain to our lord the king." He had a salary of ten merks annually.

THE ALTAR OF ST DUTHAC

ST DUTHAC was a native of Ross-shire. The precise period at which he lived has not been ascertained. He is supposed to have been buried at Tain; and to that town, in early days, many

¹ *Liber S. Katerine Senensis.*

² *Dempsteri Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum.*

³ See the obit of Mariote Weir and James Robisoune, p. 336.

pilgrimages were made, that by honouring the shrine of the saint the pilgrims might enjoy the benefit of his prayers.¹

Among others who frequently made pilgrimages to Tain in honour of St Duthac was King James IV. Duthac, as is well known, was a favourite saint with that monarch; and, during his reign, was honoured with an altar in Linlithgow Church. At that altar James IV. frequently had masses said, sometimes as many as "twa trentals" at once.²

It is probable that this altar owed its existence to the king's devotion to St Duthac, and that it perished at his death. It is only, at any rate, during his reign, that there is any reference made to it in the Treasurer's Accounts.

THE ALTAR OF ST STEPHEN

THIS altar, like that of St Crispin, was supported by the Incorporation of Shoemakers.

In 1488, shortly after King James IV. ascended the throne, he was resident in Linlithgow, and on St Stephen's Day worshipped at the altar of St Stephen, when he made an offering of xxvis.—xiiis. towards the support of the altar, and xiiis. towards the support of its lamp.

No further particulars as to this altar have been found.

THE ALTAR OF SS. CRISPINUS AND CRISPINA

THIS altar, like that of St Stephen, was supported by the Incorporation of Shoemakers.

A reference to it will be found in the Appendix, in charter No. IV.

There is no reference to it in the Burgh Records; nor has any note of its endowments been discovered.

ST MARY'S CHAPEL AT THE EAST PORT

BESIDES the two chantries dedicated to the Virgin Mary within the parish church, there was also a chapel dedicated to her at the East Port of the town. It formed a portion of what was known

¹ *Dempster's Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, lib. iv.

² *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*.

in those days as the Middleraw. On the east side of the chapel were lands which bore the significant name of "Fare-you-well yard." The date at which the chapel was founded may be learned from the following extract :—

In 1496 King James IV. confirmed a charter of Henry de Livingstoun of Middilbyning, in which the said Henry de Livingstoun bestowed on the chapel of the B.V.M. in the Low [East] Port, about to be built, seven of his perticates at the east end of the burgh of Linlithgow, in the Middilraw, between the land of John Forrest and the land of the late Norman Young, along with the Hospital House, to support a chaplain to celebrate in the said chapel—a tenement on the south side of the market-place of the burgh of Linlithgow; an annual rent of 16 sol. from the tenement of Patrick Rate; an annual rent of 4s. 6d. from the tenement of the late John Davidsoun in the said burgh; an annual rent of 6 sol. from the land of the late Patrick Ka in Myrehall, and in the barony at the east end of the said burgh; an annual rent of 2s. from the lands of the late Patrick Ka; an annual rent of 3s. from the tenement of David Bonyntoun; an annual rent of 30d. from the tenement of the late David Breich; an annual rent of 2 sol. from the tenement of John Henrisoun; his tenement in the town and territory of Blaknes along with 5 sol. annual rent of said tenement, purchased by him from Thomas Boide; a perticate of arable land, commonly called *the Rig*, in the territory of Blaknes; his tenement in the said burgh which lately belonged to Alexander Smith; from his four tenements which lately belonged to William Steele and John Carnbee, in the burgh of Linlithgow, acquired by the said Henry in default of payment of an unpaid annual rent of the said tenements—13 sol. 4 den., viz., from each tenement 40 den.; and 10 sol. of the two tenements of John Carnbee sold by William Steele—said property to be held in pure charity.

In 1502 Schir Patrick Crawford was chaplain of the Chapel of St Mary at the East Port.¹

ST MAGDALENE'S HOSPITAL

At the east end of the burgh of Linlithgow there was, from early times, an hospital dedicated to Mary Magdalene, and called from her *St Magdalene's Hospital*. The hospital is said

¹ *Reg. Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum.*

to have stood at the base of a hill, which was then known as "the Pilgrim's hill."

The origin of this hospital is found by Chalmers, the learned author of *Caledonia*, in an ancient establishment of Lazarites, which, he says, existed in Linlithgow so early as the reign of King Alexander II. The evidence, however, which he adduces, is not sufficient to prove his contention that the one institution was simply a restoration of the other. The lazar-house is described as being "in villa de Linlithqw,"¹ whereas St Magdalene's Hospital is always referred to, and properly, as being *near* or *adjacent* to Linlithgow. The confusion in Chalmers's mind may have arisen from this, that there was another hospital in Linlithgow, which stood on the east side of the Kirkgate, and which, though its origin is unknown, existed till the days of Oliver Cromwell, who destroyed it.² There is, however, no evidence to prove that either of them was a restoration of the ancient lazar-house.

As the kings were the patrons of the Hospital of St Magdalene, the probability is that it was of royal foundation. The earliest reference to it occurs in the year 1430. In that year King James I. confirmed "certain letters" by the queen, of date 1426, in which she appointed one Robert de Lyntoun, her servitour, master of the Hospital of the Blessed Mary Magdalene adjoining the burgh of Linlithgow, which Robert Heriot, the last master, had resigned.³

It is not known how many poor persons the hospital accommodated, nor whether they were males or females; but besides the house and chapel there is mention made of a garden, a small lake, and a cemetery, as having been connected with it. The hospital was managed by a preceptor who, if not invariably, was usually the chaplain.

In 1528 Mr James Knollis was preceptor of the Magdalene Hospital, and obtained from King James V., with consent of the Archbishop of St Andrews, permission to feu to James Hamilton of Finnart, Knight, the lands of Magdaleneside belonging to the hospital. From the description of these lands as lying "inter terras de Porterside, Parkle, Kyngisakeris, and Wilcoxholm," they seem to have included a part, if not the whole, of those which are now known as the "session lands."

The lands belonging to the Hospital of St Magdalene were in

¹ *Registrum S. Marie de Neubottle*, p. 250.

² *Burgh Records*.

³ *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*.

1591 feued to James Bellenden of Auchnoule, Knight, justiciary clerk, for £30, with a duplicand at the entry of each heir.

In addition to the lands of Magdaleneside, St Magdalene's Hospital possessed six acres of land in the town and territory of Bonnytown; also four acres occupied in 1528 by John Young, and four acres occupied by John Gray: all which lands yielded, in the above year, a total rent of 39 merks 8 sol. and 3 den., with 6 bolls of oatmeal.

The lands of Magdaleneside were in 1502 excambed for six acres of arable land lying near the hospital.

THE SANG SCHULE

A SONG school existed in Linlithgow from very early times. It occupied a site in close proximity to the Royal Palace and to the church. In 1633, when King Charles I. was about to visit the burgh, the magistrates, who were anxious to have all things in becoming order for the reception of the royal visitor, ordered the song school, which, they say, had become "very indecent and uncomely," with all convenient diligence to be sufficiently "roofed, slated, spargit, and pinneit, and ane dyke to be biggit between the said house and the schule, of the height of three ells or ten quarters, and that upon the expense of the eleemosynar, *seeing the same is appointed for pious uses*, and recommends the same to the Kirk-session to obtain their consent thereto."

It does not appear from any minute whether the session accepted the magisterial view as to the purposes for which their money might be employed; nor are we informed whether the roofing, slating, and spairing, were all carried out, as proposed. Evidently, however, some, if not most of the work, must have been, as we find the school in use in 1635, when the magistrates instructed their treasurer to have "the windows made wind and water tight," and, for the safety of the bairns attending it, "to make ane revall to the stair."

In 1637 we find a further order given to the burgh treasurer with regard to the song school. This time he is to "cause pin, help, and mend, the vault of the sang schule with expedition, in the haill defects thereof."

The next reference to the song school occurs in the reign of Charles II., when Episcopacy had been restored, and the Rev. James Ramsay, who burned the Solemn League and Covenant

was the minister of Linlithgow, and in possession of the full confidence and favour of the Town Council. Mr Ramsay was anxious to have a wall built from the Tolbooth to the song school, which probably stood near the gate leading to the churchyard, and offered to the Town Council, if they would pay fifty merks Scots, to cause the same to be built "of two ells of height, besides the coping, and also build the cheeks and the pend of a fair door thereto." The minute does not say whether the funds of the kirk-session "left for pious uses," were again drawn on; but the magistrates "unanimously agreed and were well pleased with the proposal, and instructed the treasurer to pay the stipulated sum on demand."¹

It is apparent that the song school, whatever it may have been before the Reformation, had never been in a very satisfactory condition since that event. The place given to praise in the worship of the Reformed Church was not such as to make a song school necessary. Its end came in 1710, when the Town Council passed the following resolution: "The Council considering that there was a former appointment of the Town Council for taking down the music school, they of new renew the same, and order the slates and timber to be applied for repairing the Fleshmarket."

Thus ended ye auld sang *skuil*.

THE CARMELITE FRIARY

THE Carmelite Friary was situated on an eminence to the south of the burgh of Linlithgow. From its commanding situation, the friars were frequently called "the brethren aboune the toune."

The friary was founded by the burgesses of Linlithgow in the year 1290. It was dedicated, as were most of the Houses belonging to this order of monks, to the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The Carmelites received their name from Mount Carmel in Syria, and were a *mendicant order*. The order was founded in the year 1205 by Albertus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who gave it the rules by which its members lived, which were subsequently confirmed by various pontiffs. The Carmelites received their first home in Scotland in 1262, and gradually increased,

¹ A view of this wall and of a house near the gate of the churchyard, which is probably the song school, may be seen by consulting Glezer's *Theatrum Scotiae*.

till at the Reformation they had about a dozen different Houses. The *House* at Linlithgow, in the order of time, was their third in Scotland, and unlike the other two, which were due to the liberality of individuals, it had a popular origin. It is thus a witness to the esteem in which this order was held by the *people* of Linlithgow in the thirteenth century.

The Carmelites at first wore a white habit, with rolls of stuff near the skirt of it ; but as this dress was offensive to the people, Pope Honorius IV. changed it into a white cloak over a grey or tawny gown.¹

The brethren of this order must still have been in favour with the populace so late as the year 1531, as on the 20th October of that year their prior was created a burgess of Linlithgow without requiring to pay the usual fee.

King James IV., whose liberality to the Church was constant and profuse, while giving handsomely to "the priests of Linlithgow," did not forget *the brethren aboune the toun*. In the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer for his reign, they are frequently mentioned as participating in the royal munificence. A few examples of his generosity towards them may be given :—"1488. To the friars of Linlithgow, in alms, xviii. 1491. To the friars of Linlithgow, ix. 1502. To the friars of Linlithgow, be the King's command, xiii." During the year 1507, they received xiii. from the king on five different occasions.

The friary, like the parish church, was sometimes used as the place of meeting for arbiters, mutually agreed upon by neighbours to settle their disputes. The following is given as an example. "23rd February 1540. The quhilk day it is compromittit betwex John Quhit in Catilstone² on the ta pairt, and Patrick Borthwick on the tother, anent all debatis betwex the saidis parteis to the day of the dait hereof, and specially anent certane of multer silver quhilk the said Patrick Borthik claimis the said John Quhit quhen the said John dwelt in Preston, and the said Patrick Borthik and John Quhit ar bunden, oblist, and sworn to abyde, and underlie the decret arbitrale, deliverans, and finale sentence of thir four men underwritten, that are to say, for the part of Patrick Borthik, James Quhit, and James Brokkas ; and for the part of John Quhit, Allane Inglis, and John Paris ; and baythe the said pairteis with bayth thair avis hes chosin Andro Ros to be ourman, in cays the said four men aggreis nocht, and thir forsaidis parteis, with thair jugis arbitouris, and ourman, to

¹ Keith's *Religious Orders in Scotland*.

² Kettlestoun.

compeir in the *Carmelet freris aboune the burgh of Linlithgow*, and thair the said arbitouris and ourman to be sworne, and except all the said debatis upone thame on Sunday the xxvii day of Februar instant, and to diliver betwex the said Sunday and Pasche next thaireftir without any langar delay."¹

In 1545 the prior of the Carmelites was John Scott. In 1560 the prior was James Hoppar, while among the friars whose names have been preserved were John Blyth, Andrew Gaw (or Haw), and Thomas Young.²

The brethren possessed several fields in the immediate neighbourhood of their House, which they leased from time to time to different burgesses of Linlithgow. The lessees during the decade preceding the Reformation were the lairds of Magdalenes; first, in 1545, Henry Forrest; and afterwards, in 1560, John Forrest.³ That Prior Hoppar was in a position to lease his fields in 1560, seems to indicate that his House had survived the visit of the "Lords of the Congregation," who in their *cleansing labours* visited the ancient burgh during the previous year.

What was the fate of their House at the Reformation it is impossible to ascertain. If not destroyed previously, it probably perished by the Act of the Secret Council of 1561, which doomed all such institutions to annihilation.

The ancient friary has given its name to the district where it stood, and part of which it owned; for the inhabitants of Linlithgow still speak of "Friarsbrae," and call their houses in the neighbourhood of where the friary stood, by such names as *Friarsbank* and *Friarsdale*.

Through the kindness of Mr John G. B. Henderson of Nether Parkley, the proprietor of the field in which the friary stood—who, with a view to the publication of this book, at very considerable expense caused the foundations of the friary to be exposed—the author is enabled to provide his readers with the accompanying ground plan of the building, a relic of the long past which will probably be interesting to some readers.

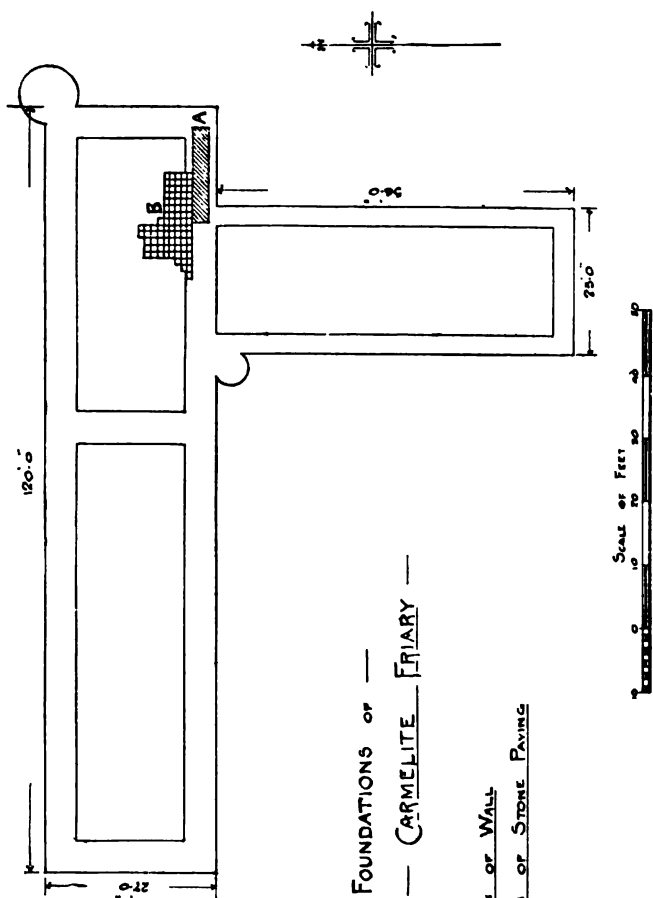
THE AUGUSTINIAN FRIARY

AUGUSTINIAN monks were first brought to Scotland in the reign, and at the request, of King Alexander I. Their first House,

¹ *Linlithgow Burgh Records*.

² *The Laing Charters*.

³ *Ibid*.



— PLAN OF FOUNDATIONS OF —
 — CARMELITE FRIARY —

A. — PORTION OF WALL
 B. — PORTION OF STONE PAVING

Ground Plan of the Carmelite Friary.

which was founded in 1114, was at Scone, where at that time was the ancient Stone of Destiny, on which the Scottish kings were crowned.

The Priory of St Andrews, to which the Church of Linlithgow was gifted by David I., was their *fourth House* in the order of time, but rapidly became their *first* in the order of rank. By an Act of King James I., the prior of St Andrews was entitled to wear pontifical ornaments, and to take precedence of all other abbots and priors within the Kingdom of Scotland.

St Andrews Priory is said to have had Cells or inferior Houses at Lochleven, Portmoak, Monimusk, the Isle of May, and Pittenweem. Though there is no writer who mentions it, they had a House also (perhaps it did not amount to the dignity of a *Cell*) at Linlithgow. The evidence of the existence of such a House is to be found in the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts, where the monks are frequently mentioned as recipients of the royal bounty. In the reign of James IV., they were either repairing their House in Linlithgow, or building a new one, as is sufficiently attested by the following payments, viz.: "23rd November 1503.—To the Augustine Freirs, to their bigging in Linlithgow, x French crowns, vii *lib*. 13th December 1503.—To the Augustine Friars of Linlithgow, to their bigging, x French crowns, vii *lib*. 1503.—To the Augustine Friars of Linlithgow, xiiis. 1505.—Item, to the masons that biggis the Freris in Linlithgow, for drinksilver, xiiis."

Local tradition speaks of this House as having been built at the east end of the town. There is nothing left of it now to mark its site.

APPENDIX II

OBIT No. I

Obit founded by Mariotte Weir and James Robisoune, her husband, to be celebrated at the altars of Holy Trinity, St Nicholas, and St John the Baptist, in the parish church of Linlithgow, with requiem mass and music, and at the other altars with requiem mass privately, twice yearly, on the anniversary of their deaths, for the repose of their souls, and of the souls of all the faithful dead, from an annual rent of 20s. furth of the tenement of Mariotte Weir, lying on the north side of the High Street, between the land of the late James Schaw on the east and the land of James Henry on the west, each chaplain to be paid the following sum, under condition that if any chaplain shall absent himself from *placebo* and *dirige* he shall lose his fee; and the chaplains of the altars of Holy Trinity, St Nicholas, and St John the Evangelist shall distribute it among the poor, as they will answer before the Supreme Judge, viz., the parish chaplain, viiid. ; the chaplain of the altar of the Holy Cross, viiid. ; of the Blessed St Mary, viiid. ; of the Holy Trinity, viiid. ; of St Nicholas, viiid. ; of John the Evangelist, viiid. ; of St Conan, viiid. ; of St John the Baptist, viiid. ; of St Ann, viiid. ; of St Katherine, viiid. ; of St Peter, viiid. ; of St Andrew, viiid. ; of St Ninian, viiid. ; the clerk of the parish, vid. ; the chaplain of the Holy Trinity, for preparing the mass, and for the lights, viiid. ; the Beadle, for ringing the bell through the town twice, iid.

The said Mariotte Weir died in 1425, the second Sunday after the feast of Pentecost.

OBIT No. II

Obit of Sir John Pumfray, chaplain, to be celebrated at the altar of St Katherine, within the parish church of Linlithgow, for the

repose of his soul and of the souls of his parents, and of those of all the faithful dead, on the anniversary of his death, with requiem mass, from an annual rent of 13s. 4d. furth of the third part of his tenement of land of Hackat, lying in the east of the said burgh, between the land of the late John Muir on the south and the land of Clement Gray on the north, the said annual rent being payable at Whitsunday and Martinmas. Each chaplain celebrating this obit is to receive *xd.*, viz.: the curate of St Michael's, *xd.*; the chaplain of the altar of the Holy Rood, *xd.*; of the Blessed St Mary, *xd.*; of St John the Baptist, *xd.*; of St Peter, *xd.*; of St Andrew, *xd.*; of Corpus Christi, *xd.*; of St Anthony, *xd.*; of St Sithe, *xd.*; of St Ninian, *xd.*; of the Holy Trinity, *xd.*; of St Salvator, *xd.*; the parish clerk, for ringing the bells of the church, *xd.*; and the beadle, for ringing the bell through the town, *iid.*

Dated at Linlithgow, 7th July 1492, and confirmed by John, prior of St Andrews, on the 3rd May 1495.

OBIT III

Obit of John Coupure, to be celebrated at the altar of St Ninian, in the parish church of Linlithgow, yearly, on the 18th day of the month of June, by ten chaplains and a clerk, from the under-written annual rents, viz.: 5s. of annual rent from the tenement of the late William Liston lying between the land of John Adamson on the east and the land of Robert Wolff on the west; and 3s. of annual rent from the west tenement of John Torffis lying on the north side of the High Street between the land of the said John Torffis on the east and the land of John Murray on the west; and 2s. of annual rent from the tenement of John Coupure, lying in the Middleraw between the land of John Nesbit on the east and the land of Robert Mane on the west—said annual rents being payable at the feasts of Pentecost and St Martin in winter. To each chaplain *xd.*, as follows, viz.: to the chaplain of the parish, *xd.*; to the chaplain of the altar of Holy Rood, *xd.*; of the Blessed St Mary, *xd.*; of St Peter, *xd.*; of St Andrew, *xd.*; of Corpus Christi, *xd.*; of St Anthony, *xd.*; of St Sithe, *xd.*; of St Ninian, *xd.*; to the parish clerk, *vid.*; to the chaplain of St Ninian, for preparation of the mass and lighting the candles, *iiid.*; to the beadle, for ringing the bell through the town, *iid.*

The said John Coupure died the 18th day of June 1465.

OBIT IV

Obit of James Naysmith and Elisabeth Louk, his spouse, founded by Peter Newlands, burghess of Linlithgow, with the consent of

Agnes Cunningham, his wife, for a certain sum of money paid to the said Peter in his urgent need by Robert Gardiner, executor of the said Elisabeth, to be celebrated at the altar of Corpus Christi, yearly in all time coming, from an annual rent of seven shillings furth of the tenement, fore and back, with yard and pertinents lying within the burgh of Linlithgow, on the north side of the High street, between the land of James Ka on the east and the land of Marion Crawford on the west ; and to each chaplain shall be given eight pence, viz. : to the curate of the parish, viiid. ; to the chaplain of the altar of the Holy Cross, viiid. ; of the B.V.M., viiid. ; of the Holy Blood, viiid. ; of St Katherine, viiid. ; of St Brigid, viiid. ; of St John the Evangelist, viiid. ; of St John the Baptist, viiid. ; of St Andrew, viiid. ; to the parish clerk, vid. ; to the chaplain of the altar of Corpus Christi, for preparing the altar and for the lights, viiid. ; and to the beadle, for ringing the bell through the town, iid.

The above obit was founded on the 13th November 1556.

OBIT V

Obit founded by Michael Hamiltoun of Lochhouse, and Gilbert Hamiltoun, his son, to be celebrated in the parish church of Linlithgow, at the altar of St Katherine the Virgin, on the anniversary of the death of the said Michael Hamiltoun, for the repose of the souls of the founders, and of their wives, and of all the faithful dead, from an annual rent of 10s. furth of their tenement lying in the burgh of Linlithgow, on the south side of the King's street, between the land of the late Thomas Gray on the east and the land of James Pettigrew on the west, the rent being payable at the feasts of Pentecost and St Martin in winter, from which each chaplain is to receive ten pence ; and should it happen that any chaplain absents himself, another taking his place by appointment of the chaplains of the altars of St Catherine, St Peter, and St John the Baptist, shall receive his fee. The curate, xd. ; the chaplain of the Holy Cross, xd. ; of the Blessed Virgin Mary, xd. ; of St John the Baptist, xd. ; of St Peter, xd. ; of St Andrew, xd. ; of Corpus Christi, xd. ; of St Anthony, xd. ; of St Ninian, xd. ; the chaplain of St Katherine, for his service, for lighting the candles, and for bread and wine, xxd. ; the parish clerk, viiid. ; and the beadle, for ringing the bell through the town, iid.

Founded 3rd October 1483.

OBIT VI

Obit of Lucas Lichtman, burgess of Linlithgow, to be celebrated at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary, founded by Robert Begs, with requiem mass and music, and at the other altars privately, for the repose of the souls of his father, mother, brothers, sisters, and of all the faithful dead, and especially for the repose of the soul of Mariotte Skot, his wife, from an annual rent of 5s. furth of his tenement in the burgh of Linlithgow between the land of John Spens on the east and the land of the late James Petry on the west, each chaplain to receive viiid., viz : the curate, viiid. ; the chaplain of the Holy Rood, viiid. ; the chaplain of St Mary, viiid. ; of Corpus Christi, viiid. ; of St John the Evangelist, viiid. ; of St Mary (Begis), viiid., with ivd. additional for the preparation of the mass and for lights ; the parish clerk, for his fee for ringing the bell, vid. ; the beadle, for ringing the bell through the town, iid.

The charter is of date 20th June 1522, and is signed thus : Lucas Lichtman, with my hand led upoun the penne.

OBIT VII

Obit of Adam Caveris, to be celebrated at the altar of St Andrew, within the parish church of Linlithgow, on the vigil of St Thomas the apostle, from an annual rent of eight shillings, viz., four shillings from the tenement of the said late Adam, lying in the said burgh between the land of Robert Aymfield on the west and the land of Andrew Ruch on the east ; and another four shillings of annual rent from the tenement of the late Matthew Meldon, between the land of James Aymfield on the east and the land of Alexander Carny on the west ; each chaplain to receive xd., viz. : the parish chaplain, xd. ; the chaplain of the Holy Cross, xd. ; of the B.V.M., xd. ; of St Peter, xd. ; of St Andrew, xd. ; of Corpus Christi, xd. ; of St Anthony, xd. ; of St Ninian, xd. ; to the parish clerk, xd. ; the chaplain of the altar of St Andrew for preparing the mass and for lights, ivd. ; the beadle, for ringing the bell through the town, iid.

The foresaid Adam Caveris died in the year 1453.

OBIT VIII

Obit of Mr John Caveris, to be celebrated at the altar of St Andrew, within the parish church of Linlithgow, on the translation of St Andrew, by six chaplains and the parish clerk, from an annual rent of five shillings from the tenement of David Hamilton,

in the burgh of Linlithgow, between the land of John Coupare on the east and the land of the late John Murray on the west ; each chaplain to receive viiid., viz. : the parish chaplain, viiid. ; the chaplain of the Holy Cross, viiid. ; of the B.V.M., viiid. ; of Corpus Christi, viiid. ; of St Andrew, viiid. ; of the Holy Trinity, viiid. ; the parish clerk, viiid. ; the chaplain of the altar of St Andrew for preparing the mass and for lights, vid. extra ; and the beadle, for ringing the bell through the town, iid.

OBIT IX

Obit of Patrick Hyne, to be celebrated at the altar of St John the Baptist, on the 16th day of the month of January, by thirteen chaplains and the parish clerk, from 10s. of annual rent furth of his tenement lying on the north side of the High street, between the land of David Rate on the west and the land of Thomas Gray on the east ; each chaplain to receive viiid., viz. : the parish chaplain, viiid. ; the chaplain of Holy Cross, viiid. ; the chaplain of the Blessed Mary, viiid. ; the chaplain of St John, viiid. ; the chaplain of St Brigide, viiid. ; the chaplain of St Katherine, viiid. ; the chaplain of St Peter, viiid. ; the chaplain of St Andrew, viiid. ; the chaplain of Corpus Christi, viiid. ; the chaplain of St Anthony, viiid. ; the chaplain of the Holy Trinity, viiid. ; the chaplain of St Ninian, viiid. ; the chaplain of St Salvator, viiid. ; the parish clerk, viiid. ; the beadle, for ringing the bell through the town, iid. ; the chaplain of St John the Baptist, for preparation of the mass and for lights, an additional vid.

The said Patrick Hyne died in the year 1481.

OBIT X

Obit of Andrew Ruch, to be celebrated at the altar of St Ninian on the 25th day of March, by thirteen chaplains, from an annual rent of 10s. usual money of Scotland, from his tenement lying in the burgh of Linlithgow, on the north side of the High Street, between the land of Donald Pers on the east and the land of the late Thomas Cavers on the west ; each chaplain to receive viiid., viz. : the chaplain of the parish, viiid. ; the chaplain of the Holy Cross, viiid. ; of St Mary, viiid. ; of St John the Baptist, viiid. ; of St Brigide, viiid. ; of St Katherine, viiid. ; of St Peter, viiid. ; of St Andrew, viiid. ; of Corpus Christi, viiid. ; of St Anthony, viiid. ; of St Ninian, viiid. ; of St Salvator, viiid. ; of the Holy Trinity, viiid. ; the parish clerk, viiid. ; the chaplain of St Ninian's, for the

preparation of the mass and for lights, *vid.* ; and to the beadle, for ringing the bell through the town, *iid.*

The said Andrew Ruch died in the year 1480.

OBIT XI

Obit of David Coupere, to be celebrated at the altar of St Ninian, within the parish church of Linlithgow, on the 17th day of the month of February, from an annual rent of 5s. furth of his west tenement lying in the burgh of Linlithgow, on the south side of the High street, between the land of the late Andrew Coupere on the west and the land of the said David on the east, to be celebrated by six chaplains and the parish clerk, each chaplain to receive *viiiid.*, and the clerk *vid.*, viz.: the parish chaplain, *viiiid.*; the chaplain of the Holy Cross, *viiiid.* ; of St Mary, *viiiid.* ; of Corpus Christi, *viiiid.* ; of St Andrew, *viiiid.* ; of St Ninian, *viiiid.* ; the parish clerk, *vid.* ; the chaplain of St Ninian, for preparation of the mass and for the lights, an additional *iiiid.* ; and the beadle, for ringing the bell through the town, *iid.*

The foresaid David Coupere died in the year 1483.

OBIT XII

Obit of David Wilson, to be celebrated on the 16th day of August, at the altar of St Katherine the Virgin, from an annual rent of ten shillings, from his tenement lying in the burgh of Linlithgow, on the south side of the High Street, between the land of William Gellane on the east and the land of the late Simon Forrester on the west, by ten chaplains and the parish clerk, each of whom is to receive *xd.*, viz.: the parish chaplain, *xd.* ; the chaplain of the Holy Cross, *xd.* ; of the B.V.M., *xd.* ; of St John the Baptist, *xd.* ; of St Brigide, *xd.* ; of St Peter, *xd.* ; of St Andrew, *xd.* ; of Corpus Christi, *xd.* ; of St Katherine, *xd.* ; Dominus John Wolff, for his lifetime, and after his decease the chaplain of the Holy Trinity, *xd.* ; the parish clerk, *xd.* ; to the chaplain of the altar of St Katherine, for preparing the mass and for lights, *viiiid.* ; and the beadle, for ringing the bell through the town, *iid.*

The foresaid David Wilson died in the year 1484.

OBIT XIII

Obit of Thomas Listone, to be celebrated at the altar of St Elijus, within the parish church of Linlithgow, by six chaplains and the clerk, on the 29th day of September yearly, from an

annual rent of five shillings, viz., thirty pence from the tenement of the said Thomas, lying on the south side of the High Street, in the Maderyard ; and another thirty pence of annual rent from the tenement of the said Thomas, lying on the north side of the High Street, west of the tenement of John Carnys ; each chaplain to receive viiid., viz.: the parish chaplain, viiid. ; the chaplain of the Holy Cross, viiid. ; of the B.V.M., viiid. ; of St Brigide, viiid. ; of St . . . viiid. ; of Corpus Christi, viiid. ; the parish clerk, vid., and for preparing the mass and for lights, iiiid. ; and the beadle, for ringing the bell through the town, iid.

The foresaid Thomas Listone died in the year 1485.

OBIT XIV

Obit of David Anderson, to be celebrated on the 29th day of September, at the altar of St Salvator, in the parish church of Linlithgow, by ten chaplains and the clerk, from an annual rent of ten shillings from his tenement lying in the said burgh, on the south side of the High Street, between the land of the late Robert Kurpur on the east and the land of the late Henry Binny on the west ; each chaplain to receive xd., viz.: the parish chaplain, xd. ; the chaplain of the Holy Cross, xd. ; the chaplain of the B.V.M., xd. ; of St John the Baptist, xd. ; of St Katherine, xd. ; of St Peter, xd. ; of St Andrew, xd. ; of St Ninian, xd. ; of Corpus Christi, xd. ; of St Salvator, xd. ; the parish clerk, xd. ; the chaplain of St Salvator, for preparing the mass and for lights, viiid. ; the beadle, for ringing the bell through the town, iid.

The above David Anderson died A.D. 1484.

OBIT XV

Obit of Jonete Logane, to be celebrated at the altar of St Peter, in the parish church of Linlithgow, from an annual rent of ten shillings and sixpence, from her tenement lying in the said burgh, on the north side of the High Street, between the land of Patrick Ka on the west and the land of Robert Duncan on the east, which annual rent she received by legal inheritance from Henry Ka after the decease of her husband, William Logane ; and to each chaplain there is to be given viiid., viz. : to the chaplain of the parish, viiid. ; to the chaplain of the Holy Cross, viiid. ; of the B.V.M., viiid. ; of St Katherine, viiid. ; of St Peter, viiid. ; of St Andrew, viiid. ; of Corpus Christi, viiid. ; of St Ninian, viiid. ; to the parish clerk, viiid. ; to the chaplain of the altar of St Peter, for the preparation

of the mass and for lights, viiid. ; and to the beadle, for ringing the bell through the town, iid.

OBIT XVI

Obit of William Smith, to be celebrated on All Souls' Day, by six chaplains and the parish clerk, from an annual rent of five shillings furth of his tenement beyond the bridge, at the east end of the said burgh of Linlithgow, on the north side of the High Street ; each chaplain to receive viiid., viz. : the parish chaplain, viiid. ; the chaplain of the altar of the Holy Cross, viiid. ; of the B.V.M., viiid. ; of St Andrew, viiid. ; of Corpus Christi, viiid. ; the parish clerk, vid. ; and for preparing the mass and for lights, iiiid. ; and to the beadle, for ringing the bell through the town, iid.

OBIT XVII

Obit of Mr Henry Boys, vicar of Linlithgow, to be celebrated on the 27th day of June, in the choir of Linlithgow, by thirteen chaplains and the clerk, from an annual rent of twelve shillings, from the tenement of Thomas Forest lying on the west side of the market-place of the said burgh, between the land of James Schaw on the west and the land of John Forest on the north ; each chaplain to receive xd., viz. : the parish chaplain, xd. ; the chaplain of the altar of the Holy Cross, xd. ; of the B.V.M., xd. ; of the altar of St Salvator, xd. ; of St John, xd. ; of St Brigide, xd. ; of St Katherine, xd. ; of St Peter, xd. ; of St Andrew, xd. ; of Corpus Christi, xd. ; of St Anthony, xd. ; of St Ninian, xd. ; of the Holy Trinity, xd. ; the parish clerk, viiid. ; the curate, for preparing the mass, and lights, iiiid. ; and to the beadle, for ringing the bell through the town, iid.

The above Henry Boys died in the year 1487.

OBIT XVIII

Obit of John Palmer, founded by him, to be celebrated at the altar of St Salvator, on the feast of St Scholastica the Virgin, in the month of February, on the 5th Sunday before Lent, by thirteen chaplains and the parish clerk, from an annual rent of ten shillings Scots, from the tenement of Patrick Martyn, on the south side of the High Street of the said burgh, between the land of the late John on the east and the land of Henry Caelyng on the west ; and to each of the underwritten chaplains and the parish clerk shall be given viiid., viz. : to the parish chaplain, viiid. ; to the chaplain of the Holy Cross, viiid. ; of the B.V.M., viiid. ; of the

altar of St Salvator, viiid. ; of Holy Trinity, viiid. ; of St John the Baptist, viiid. ; of St Anne, viiid. ; of St Katherine, viiid. ; of St Peter, viiid. ; of St Andrew, viiid. ; of Corpus Christi, viiid. ; of St Anthony, viiid. ; of St Ninian, viiid. ; to the parish clerk, viiid. ; to the chaplain of St Salvator, for the preparation of the mass and for lights, vid. ; and to the beadle, for ringing the bell through the town, iid.

The above John Palmer died in the year of God 1451.

OBIT XIX

Obit of Andrew de Bonynton, late burgess of Linlithgow, to be celebrated in the choir of the Church of the Blessed Michael the Archangel, of the said burgh, twice yearly, viz., on the day after the feast of the Holy Trinity, and on the day after the feast of St Martin, for the soul of the late Mr Patrick de Howistoun, vicar of Linlithgow, and for the soul of the said Andrew, and for the souls of all the faithful dead, by the six underwritten chaplains and the parish clerk, from an annual rent of ten shillings Scots, from the tenement of the said Andrew, lying on the east of the market-place of the said burgh, between the land of John Palmer on the north and the land of Patrick Harkes on the south, and for each obit to be celebrated, viiid. to each chaplain, viz.: to the parish chaplain, viiid. ; to the chaplain of Holy Cross, viiid. ; of the B.V.M., viiid. ; to the chaplain of St Andrew, viiid. ; of Corpus Christi, viiid. ; of St Ninian, viiid. ; to the parish clerk of the said burgh, vid. ; and for ringing the bells and for lighted candles, ivd. ; and to the beadle, for ringing the bell through the town, iid.

The said vicar died Anno Domini 1429.

The aforesaid Andrew died 1442.

OBIT XX

Obit of Patrick Kaa, burgess of Linlithgow, to be celebrated at the altar of St Elijus the Confessor, twice yearly, viz., on the day after the feast of St John the Baptist, and on the day after the feast of St Andrew the Apostle, for the repose of the souls of the said Patrick, and his parents, and all the faithful dead, from the annual rent of ten shillings Scots, from the tenement of John Patricson, in the said burgh, between the land of the late Adam Cavers on the east and the land of the late William Saltoun on the west ; and for each obit to be celebrated, viiid. to each chaplain, viz.: to the parish chaplain, viiid. ; to the

chaplain of the Holy Cross, viiid. ; of the B.V.M., viiid. ; of St Elijus, viiid. ; of St Anthony, viiid. ; of Corpus Christi, viiid. ; to the parish clerk, vid. ; also to the parish clerk for ringing the bells and lighting the candles, ivd. ; and to the beadle, for ringing the bell through the town at each obit, iid.

The foresaid Patrick Kaa died in the year 1447.

OBIT XXI

Obit of Patrick Harkes, burghess of Linlithgow, to be celebrated once in the year, at the altar of St Ninian the confessor, on the feast of St Remigius, for the souls of the said Patrick, and of his parents, and of all the faithful dead, from an annual rent of ten shillings Scots, from the tenement of Robert Mene, lying in the said burgh on the south side of the High Street, between the land of Henry Caueling on the east and the land of Thomas Forest on the west, by the following chaplains, and to each of the chaplains *xd.*, viz. : to the parish chaplain, *xd.* ; to the chaplain of the Holy Cross, *xd.* ; of the B.V.M., *xd.* ; of St Peter, *xd.* ; of St Andrew, *xd.* ; of Corpus Christi, *xd.* ; of St Anthony, *xd.* ; of St Ninian, *xd.* ; of St Katherine, *xd.* ; to the parish clerk, *vid.* ; also to the parish clerk, for lighting the candles and ringing the bells, viiid. ; and to the beadle, for ringing the bell through the town, *vid.*

Also to provide a collation for the chaplains, xiiid. The above Patrick died in the year 1446.

OBIT XXII

Obit of Duncan Litster, to be celebrated on the day after the feast of Corpus Christi, once in the year, in the choir of the Church of St Michael, by eight chaplains and the clerk, from an annual rent of eight shillings Scots, from the tenement of the said Duncan, lying in the said burgh on the south side of the High Street, between the land of Duncan Ruch on the east and the land of John Kincade on the west ; and for each chaplain celebrating, *xd.*, viz. : the parish chaplain, *xd.* ; the chaplain of the Holy Cross, *xd.* ; of the B.V.M., *xd.* ; of St Peter, *xd.* ; of St Andrew, *xd.* ; of Corpus Christi, *xd.* ; of St Anthony, *xd.* ; of St Ninian, *xd.* ; to the parish clerk, for lighting the candles, ringing the bells, and for service, xiiid. ; and to the beadle, for ringing the bell through the town, iid.

The foresaid Duncan died in 1468.

OBIT XXIII

Obit of Mr John Henry, priest, to be celebrated at the altar of St Salvator on the 2nd day of October, by the parish chaplain, and other nine chaplains to be chosen by the curate of the church and the chaplain of St Salvator ; and each chaplain shall have ten pence, of whom nine shall celebrate private masses as is usual for the dead, with an anniversary, and exequies, and mass with song, on the day after. The parish clerk shall have for service and bells, eight pence. The beadle, for going through the town twice with the bell, two pence ; and for candles and other ornaments, ten pence, at the discretion of the chaplain of the altar of St Salvator. An annual rent of ten shillings from the tenement of Henry Caeling, lying in the said burgh on the south side of the High Street, between the land of John Kerss on the east and the land of Dominus Robert Mane on the west.

The foresaid Mr Henry died in the year 1460.

OBIT XXIV

Obit of James Maluill, to be celebrated on the 16th day of the month of August, at the altar of St Sithe the Virgin, once in the year, from an annual rent of ten shillings from the tenement of Thomas Foulis, lying in the said burgh on the south side of the High Street, between the land of Patrick Davison on the east and the land of Thomas Gray on the west, by ten chaplains and the clerk, viz. : to the parish chaplain, *xd.* ; to the chaplain of the Holy Cross, *xd.* ; to the chaplain of St Mary, *xd.* ; of St Peter, *xd.* ; of St Andrew, *xd.* ; of Corpus Christi, *xd.* ; of St Sithe, *xd.* ; of St Katherine, *xd.* ; of St Ninian, *xd.* ; of St Salvator, *xd.* ; to the parish clerk, *xd.* ; to the chaplain of St Sithe, for preparation of the mass and lighting the candles, *xid.* ; and to the beadle, for ringing the bell through the town, *iid.*

The foresaid James died A.D. 1452.

OBIT XXV

Obit of Elisabeth de Leuyngston, late spouse of Robert de Levingston of Middilbenyn, founded by Henry de Levingston of Middilbenyn, to be celebrated on the 21st day of the month of July, at the altar of St Anthony the Abbot, with thirteen chaplains and the clerk, from an annual rent of fourteen shillings Scots, from the underwritten tenements : first, of eight shillings annual rent from the tenement of David Litster, lying in the said burgh on

the north side of the street, between the land of Thomas Forrest on the west and the land of John Mane on the east; and of four shillings and six pence from the tenement of Thomas Forrest, lying on the north side of the street, between the land of David Litster on the east and the land of Alexander Smyth on the west; and of one shilling and six pence of annual rent from the tenement of John Sym, lying on the north side of the street, between the land of Patrick Hyne on the west and the land of Nicholas Wrycht on the east. And to each chaplain shall be given ten pence, viz.: to the parish chaplain, *xd.*; to the chaplain of the Holy Cross, *xd.*; of St Katherine, *xd.*; of St Peter, *xd.*; of St Andrew, *xd.*; of Corpus Christi, *xd.*; of St Anthony, *xd.*; of St Elijius, *xd.*; of St Sithe, *xd.*; of the B.V.M., *xd.*; of St John the Baptist, *xd.*; of St Ninian, *xd.*; of St Salvator, *xd.*; to the parish clerk, *xd.*; to the beadle, for ringing the bell through the town, *iid.*

To the Alms-house of the said burgh, *xiid.*

To the Lazar-house, *xiid.*

To the chaplain of St Anthony, for lighting the candles, *iiid.*

The foresaid Elisabeth died in the year 1448.

OBIT XXVI

Obit of Robert de Amysfield, to be celebrated on the day after the festival of Sts Simon and Jude, by twelve chaplains and the clerk, from an annual rent of nine shillings Scots, from the tenement of David Bennet, lying in the said burgh on the north side of the High Street, between the land of Robert Mure on the west and the land of Alexander Hamiltoun on the east; to each chaplain shall be given eight pence, as follows, viz.: to the parish chaplain, *viiid.*; to the chaplain of the Holy Cross, *viiid.*; of the B.V.M., *viiid.*; of St Peter, *viiid.*; of St Andrew, *viiid.*; of Corpus Christi, *viiid.*; of St Anthony, *viiid.*; of St Elijius, *viiid.*; of St Sithe, *viiid.*; of St Ninian, *viiid.*; of St Salvator, *viiid.*; to the chaplain of Holy Trinity, *viiid.*; to the parish clerk, *vid.*; and the residue for candles and preparation of the mass, *ivd.*; to the beadle, for ringing the bell through the town, *iid.*

The said obit shall be celebrated before the altar of St Peter the Apostle. A.D. 1458.

OBIT XXVII

Obit of Dom John Blackburn, chaplain, to be celebrated at the altar of St Katherine on the second Sunday after the feast of

Corpus Christi, once in the year, of ten shillings Scots annual rent, from the tenement of Robert Bartilmew, lying in the said burgh on the north side of the High street, between the land of David Bonyntoun on the west and the land of Patrick Hyne on the east, by ten chaplains and the parish clerk ; and to each chaplain shall be given ten pence, as follows, viz. : to the parish chaplain, *xd.* ; to the chaplain of Holy Cross, *xd.* ; of the B.V.M., *xd.* ; of St Katherine, *xd.* ; of St Peter, *xd.* ; of St Andrew, *xd.* ; of Corpus Christi, *xd.* ; of St Anthony, *xd.* ; of St Ninian, *xd.* ; of St Salvator, *xd.* ; to the parish clerk, *viiiid.* ; to the beadle, for ringing the bell through the town, *iid.* ; to the chaplain of St Katherine, for the preparation of the mass and for lights, *xd.*

The foresaid Dominus John died on Monday after the feast of Corpus Christi. (Prior to 1481.)

OBIT XXVIII (*incomplete*)

Obit of Stephen Robertsoune, to be celebrated twice in the year, at the altar of the Holy Trinity, viz., on the third Sunday after the feast of Corpus Christi, for the repose of the souls of Simon Robertsoune, his father, and Agnes his mother, who died in the year

APPENDIX III

I.—*Confirmation of Charter of date 1445*

OMNIBUS hanc cartam visuris vel audituris Patricius Pyot Magister Hospitalis Sancti Germani in regno Scocie salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noveritis me quandam[confirmasse]cartam provide mulieris Cristiane de Ennerduc de et super omnibus et singulis terris suis de Lochhouse cum pertinentiis jacentibus infra vice-comitatum de Lythcow confectam cum consensu et assensu Johannis de Newtoun mariti sui datam et concessam in honorem Dei omnipotentis glorioseque Virginis Marie et beati Petri apostoli, pro salute anime sui, mariti sui, filie sue, antecessorum parentumque, et successorum suorum, ad sustentacionem unius capellani perpetui celebrantis et pro perpetuo celebraturi ad altare beati Petri Apostoli in ecclesia parochiali beati Michaelis Archangeli burgi de Lythcow, de mandato meo visam inspectam perlectam et diligenter examinatam sanam et integram non rasam non abolitam non cancellatam nec in aliqua sue parta suspectam sed omni prorsus vicio et suspicione carentem cujusquidem tenor sequitur et est talis : Omnibus hanc cartam visuris vel audituris Christiana de Ennerduc sponsa Johannis de Newtoun burgensis de Lithcow salutem in domino sempiternam. Noveritis me cum consensu et assensu dicti sponsi mei, in honorem Dei omnipotentis, glorioseque virginis Marie et beati Petri apostoli dedisse concessisse et hac presenti certa mea confirmasse pro salute anime mee et sponsi mei ac specialiter Petre filie nostre antecessorum parentumque et successorum nostrorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum omnes et singulas terras meas de Lochhouse cum pertinentiis jacentes infra vicecomitatum de Lythcow ad sustentationem unius capellani perpetui celebrantis

et pro perpetuo celebraturi ad altare beati Petri Apostoli in ecclesia parochiali Sancti Michaelis Archangeli burgi de Lythcow : Tenendas et habendas omnes et singulas prenominate terras de Lochhouse cum pertinenciis antedicto altari beati Petri et capellano ibidem celebranti et perpetuis temporibus celebraturo et suis successoribus capellanis qui pro tempore fuerint in puram et perpetuam elemosinam imperpetuum prout jacent in longitudine et latitudine per omnes rectas metas antiquas et divisas suas ac cum omnibus et singulis commoditatibus libertatibus proficuis et aisamentis ac justis pertinenciis suis quibuscumque tam non nominatis quam nominatis tam sub terra quam supra terram tam procul quam prope ad predictas terras cum pertinenciis spectantibus seu juste spectare valentibus quomodolibet in futurum et adeo libere quiete plenarie integre honorifice bene et in pace in omnibus et per omnia sine retinemento vel revocatione quacunque sicut aliqua terra infra regnum Scocie cuicunque altari sive capellano perpetuo in puram et liberam elemosinam per quoscunque datur seu conceditur aut dari vel concedi qualitercunque poterit in futurum : Reddendo inde annuatim dictus capellanus et sui successores magistro Hospitalis Sancti Germani in regno Scocie et suis successoribus qui pro tempore fuerint septem solidos usualis monete Scocie ad duos anni terminos consuetos, viz., ad festa Pentecostes et Sancti Martini in hieme per equales porciones et faciendo inde etiam alia seruicia debita et consueta per balliuos et communitatem dicti burgi de Lythcow fienda quos constituo patrones dicte capellanie super dictis terris perpetuis temporibus in futurum. Et ego vero predicta Christiana de Ennerduc et heredes mei omnes et singulas prenominate terras de Lochhouse cum pertinentiis predicto altari beati Petri et capellano ibidem celebranti et perpetuis futuris temporibus celebraturo et suis successoribus adeo libere et quiete in omnibus et per omnia ut predictum est contra omnes mortales warrantizabimus acquietabimus et imperpetuum defendemus. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum meum huic presenti carte mee est appensum unacum sigillo prouidi viri Jacobi de Parkle domini ejusdem per dictum sponsum meum procurato in signum sui consensus et assensus Apud Lythcow in pretorio ejusdem vicesimo tercio die mensis Novembris anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo quinto, presentibus prouidis viris, viz.: Johanne Weyr, Patricio de Conynghame, dicti burgi balliuis, Johanne de Amysfelde, Willelmo de Cavelyn, Johanne de Cors, Johanne de Crawford, Johanne Ra, Willelmo Browne, Thoma de Ralistoun, Johanne

Symonis, Thoma de Foulis, Thoma de Forest, Alano Ponfret, Johanne Roberti, Thoma Symth seriando, et Jacobo de Foulis notario publico, cum multis aliis testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis. Quamquidem cartam donacionem et concessionem in eadem contentam in omnibus suis punctis et articulis modis ac circumstanciis uniuersis forma pariter et effectum in omnibus et per omnia approbo ratifico et pro me et successoribus meis dicti Hospitalis imperpetuum confirmo. In[cujus rei testimonium sigillum meum huic presenti carte mee confirmacionis est appensum Apud burgum de Aberden octauo die mensis Maii anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo sexto hiis testibus, viz., venerabilibus et discretis viris Laurencio archidiacono Aberdonensi, Thoma de Ednem canonico ejusdem, in artibus magistris, Dominis Willelmo Ettale et Willelmo Monylaw capellanis, cum multis aliis.

II.—*Charter of date 20th April 1487*

Omnibus hanc cartam visuris vel audituris Johannes Forest burgensis de Linlithq̃w salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noveritis me utilitate mea undique previsa concessisse vendidisse et titulo venditionis alienasse ac ipsas concessionem et venditionem presenti carta mea confirmasse necnon vendere alienare et hac presenti carta mea confirmare venerabili et circumspecto viro Magistro Henrico Boys cancellario ecclesie cathedralis Dunblanensis ac perpetuo vicario ecclesie parochialis de Linlithq̃w unum annum redditum viginti duorum solidorum et octo denariorum usualis monete Scocie annuatim percipiendum et levandum de toto et integro tenemento meo et terris meis cum pertinentiis jacente in dicto burgo de Linlithq̃w in le Middilraw ad finem orientalem dicti burgi inter hortum Henrici de Levingston ex parte occidentali et terram Jacobi Gillone ex parte orientali ac etiam de una acra terre campestris michi pertinente jacente in le Magdaleneside ex parte australi vici regii, item unum annum redditum quatuor solidorum usualis monete Scocie annuatim percipiendum et levandum de toto et integro tenemento quondam Roberti Hathwy cum pertinentiis jacente in dicto burgo ex parte australi vici regii inter terram quondam Thome Wilson ex parte orientali et terram Johannis Maluil ex parte occidentali, pro quadam certa summa pecunie michi per dictum Magistrum Henricum in pecunia numerata pre manibus

gratanter et integre persoluta, de qua quidem summa fateor me bene contentum et plenarie persolutum et dictum Magistrum Henricum et omnes suos exinde quietos denuntio imperpetuum per presentes, ac totum jus et clameum juris proprietatem et possessionem que et quas in vel ad dictos annuos redditus cum pertinentiis habeo habui seu quovismodo habere potero in futurum pro me et heredibus meis dictis Magistro Henrico heredibus suis et assignatis quieteclamo imperpetuum, itaque nec ego dictus Johannes nec heredes mei nec aliquis alius nomine nostro aliquod jus vel clameum in dictis annuis redditibus cum pertinentiis exigere seu vindicare poterimus seu poterit sed ab omni actione ejusdem simus exclusi imperpetuum per presentes : Tenendos et habendos omnes et singulos dictos annuos redditus cum pertinentiis, ad duos anni terminos consuetos, viz., festa Pentecostes et Sancti Martini in hieme per equales portiones percipiendos et levandos, dicto Magistro Henrico heredibus suis et assignatis, a me et heredibus meis de domino nostro Rege in capite in feodo et hereditate imperpetuum, cum omnibus et singulis libertatibus commoditatibus et aisamentis fructibus proventibus et emolumentis ac justis suis pertinentiis quibuscunque et adeo libere quiete plenarie integre honorifice bene et in pace in omnibus et per omnia sicut aliquis annuus redditus in aliquo burgo Scocie cuicunque persone datur conceditur seu alienatur. Et ego vero dictus Johannes Forest et heredes mei omnes et singulos dictos annuos redditus cum pertinentiis prefato Magistro Henrico heredibus suis et assignatis adeo libere in omnibus et per omnia, ut predictum est, contra omnes mortales warrantizabimus, acquietabimus et imperpetuum defendemus. In cujus rei testimonium quia sigillum proprium non habui sigillum commune dicti burgi de Linlithqw presenti carte mee apponi cum instantia procuravi coram honorabilibus viris Anselmo Sersandris, capitaneo palatii supremi domini nostri ac ballivo ejusdem burgi sasinam dante, Thoma Caveris, ballivo dicti burgi, Alexandro Fresale, Thoma Forest, Thoma Foulis, Edwardo Broune, Alexandro Caveling, Johanne Caveling, Thoma Gellane, et Alexandro Foulis, publico notario, cum multis aliis; apud Linlithqw vicesimo die mensis Aprilis anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo octogesimo septimo.

(Endorsed)—Charter be John Forest to Mr William Boyis, of twa annuels, ane of xxij. s. and ane of iiij. s., furth of his tenement and aker of land at the Magdalen Croce, 20 Aprilis 1487.

III.—*Instrument of Sasine, dated 13th March 1500*

In Dei nomine Amen. Per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis pateat evidenter quod anno incarnationis Dominice millesimo quingentesimo mensis vero marcii die xiii, indictione prima pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris ac domini nostri domini Alexandri divina providentia Pape sexti anno quinto, in mei notarii publici et testium subscriptorum presentia personaliter accessit honorabilis vir David Newlandis unus ballivorum burgi de Linlythqw ad instantiam et requestum Mariote Weir ad terras sive tenementa quondam Magistri Henrici Weir, patruus dicte Mariote Weir, jacentia in burgo de Linlythqw, viz., unum tenementum ex parte boreali vici regii inter terram quondam Jacobi Schaw ex parte orientali et terram Wilielmi Backie ex parte occidentali, item aliud tenementum jacens in dicto burgo ad finem orientalem ville ejusdem ex parte boreali vici regii ejusdem inter terram quondam Patricii Backie ex occidentali et terram Patricii Kaa ex orientali partibus; et ibidem dicta Mariota Weir presentavit et deliberavit dicto Davidi Newlandis ballivo burgi de Linlythqw quoddam preceptum sasine S. D. N. Regis more cancellarie sigillatum et clausum, humiliter requirens dictum ballivum pro executione ejusdem fienda: Qui vero dictus ballivus recepit dictum preceptum sasine dicta Mariota Weir et huiusmodi mihi notario publico subscripto tradidit perlegendum et publicandum cujus precepti tenor sequitur in his verbis—Jacobus dei gratia Rex Scotorum ballivis burgi nostri de Linlythqw salutem. Quia per inquisitionem de mandato nostro per vos factam et ad capellam nostram retornatam compertum est quod quondam Magister Henricus Weir, patruus Mariote Weir latoris presentium, obiit ultimo vestitus et sasitus ut de feodo ad pacem et fidem nostram de uno tenemento terre cum pertinentiis jacente in dicto nostro burgo ex parte boreali vici nostri ejusdem inter terram Wilielmi Backie ex parte occidentali et terram quondam Jacobi Schaw ex parte orientali, item de uno tenemento cum pertinentiis jacente in dicto burgo nostro ad finem ejusdem ex parte boreali vici nostri inter terram quondam Patricii Cathy ex occidentali et terram Patricii Kaa ex orientali partibus, et quod dicta Mariota est legitima et propinquior heres ejusdem quondam Magistri Henrici, patruus sui, de dictis duobus tenementis terre cum pertinentiis, et quod est legitime etatis, et quod de nobis

tenentur in capite—vobis precipimus et mandamus quatenus dicte Mariote vel suo certo actornato, latori presentium, sasinam dictorum tenementorum terre cum pertinentiis juste haberi faciatis et sine delatione, salvo jure cujuslibet, et hoc nullo modo omittatis. Teste me ipso apud Edinburgh duodecimo die mensis Marcii anno regni nostri decimo tertio. Post cujusquidem precepti sasine perlectionem et publicationem prefatus David Newlandis ballivus antedictus virtute et vigore ejusdem accessit personaliter ad terram sive tenementum occidentalem ipsius Magistri Henrici Weir et ibidem sasinam statum et possessionem hereditariam totius predicte terre sive tenementi occidentalis ante et retro prefate Mariote Weir per traditionem et deliberationem terre et lapidis fundi dicti tenementi, ut moris est in talibus fieri consuetum, secundum tenorem dicti precepti sasine sibi desuper directi dedit, tradidit pariter et deliberavit, salvo jure cuiuslibet, et deinde prefatus ballivus antedictus accessit personaliter ad terram sive tenementum orientalem dicti Henrici Weir inter terram quondam Patricii Cathy ex occidentali et terram Patricii Kaa ex orientali partibus, et ibidem sasinam statum et possessionem hereditariam totius predicte terre sive tenementi orientalis ante et retro prefate Mariote Weir per traditionem et deliberationem terre et lapidis fundi dicti tenementi, ut moris est in talibus fieri consuetum, secundum tenorem dicti precepti sasine sibi desuper directi dedit tradidit pariter et deliberavit, salvo jure cuiuslibet: Super quarum quidem sasinarum donationibus ceterisque premissis dicta Mariota Weir a me notario publico infrascripto sibi fieri petiit publicum instrumentum seu publica instrumenta. Acta fuerunt hec super solum dictorum tenementorum hora quasi decima ante meridiem vel eo circa anno die mensis et loco supradictis, presentibus ibidem providis viris Archebaldo Cornuall, Roberto Dennystoun, Georgio Kant, Wilielmo Balck, Johanne Samill, Joanne Newlands, Jacobo Skougall, et Davide Grintoune seriando, cum diversis aliis testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis. (Sic subscribitur) Et ego, Robertus Foulis, clericus Sanctiandree diocesis publicus auctoritatibus imperiali regalique notarius, predictarum sasinarum donationibus dum sic ut premittitur fierent et agerentur una cum prenomminatis testibus presens personaliter interfui, eaque sic fieri dici vidi et audiui et in notam recepi indeque presens publicum instrumentum manu mea propria scriptum confeci et meis signo et subscriptione manualibus roboravi rogatus et requisitus in fidem et testimonium veritatis omnium premissorum, una cum appensione

sigilli Davidis Newlandis, ballivi dicti burgi, sasinam dantis specialiter procurati propter majorem evidentiam et testimonium premissorum. Robertus Foulis.

Hec est vera copia principalis instrumenti sasine superscripte cum principali in omnibus concordans collata per me Robertum Ker, notarium publicum, et per Alexandrum Neilsonne scripta meum servum subscripta et sigillata.

(Signed) R. KER.

IV.—*Instrument of Sasine, dated 7th August 1506*

In Dei nomine Amen. Per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis pateat evidenter quod anno ab incarnatione ejusdem millesimo quingentesimo sexto mensis vero Augusti die septima indictione nona pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris ac domini nostri domini Julii divina providentia Pape secundi anno tertio in mei notarii publici et testium subscriptorum presentia personaliter constitutus Johannes Kettilstoune, burgensis de Lithqw accessit personaliter usque solum sui tenementi cum pertinentiis ac etiam ad tenementum Archebaldi Hammiltoune cum pertinentiis jacens in dicto burgo de Lithqw ex parte boreali vici regii inter terram Willielmi Backe ex parte orientali et terram Johannis Thomson ex parte occidentali et ibidem resignatione legitima de quinque solidis annui redditus annuatim percipiendi et levandi de dicto tenemento cum pertinentiis in manus providi viri Patricii Danison ballivi dicti burgi pure et simpliciter facta saisinam hereditariam investituram et corporalem possessionem dicti annui redditus quinque solidorum discreto viro Johanni Hendersoune alutario et decano illius artis Roberto Brisson et Jacobo Skogall consulatoribus dicte artis nomine et titulo altaris Sanctorum Crispini et Crispiani marterum et Sancti Stephani per manus dicti ballivi per donationem unius denarii prout moris est in burgo tradi fecit juxta tenorem carte desuper confecte dicto altari prout exprimitur in feodo et heriditate perpetuis temporibus permansuris super cuiusquidem saisine donatione ceterisque premissis dictus Johannes Hendersoune nomine et titulo altaris Sanctorum Crispinii et Crispiani marterum, et Sancti Stephani a me notario publico infrascripto sibi fieri petiit publicum instrumentum. Acta fuerunt hec super solum dictorum tenementorum hora quasi decima ante meridiem vel eo circa anno die mense et loco supradictis presentibus providis viris Patricio Danison ballivo burgi de

Linlithqw saisinam dante, Johanne Burman, Johanne Thomson, Johanne Adamsoun, Johanne Thorntoun, Roberto Brissoun, Jacobo Skogall, et Patricio Fynlawsoun seriando, cum diversis aliis.

Et ego Robertus Foulis clericus Sancti Andree diocesis publicus auctoritatibus imperiali regalique notarius predictae sasine donationi ceterisque premissis dum sic ut premittitur fierent et agerentur unacum prenominationis testibus presens personaliter interfui eaque sic fieri dici vidi et audivi et in notam recepi indeque presens publicum instrumentum manu mea.

*V.—Deed of Presentation to the Altar of St Peter,
dated 18th March 1522*

Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quorum notitiam presentes littere pervenerint ballivi consules et communitas burgi de Linlithqw salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noverit universitas vestra nos matura deliberatione prehabita certis rationalibus causis animos nostros moventibus et caritatis intuitu unacum consensu et assensu dedisse donasse et contulisse tenoreque presentis scripti dare donare et conferre discreto et circumspecto viro domino Wilermo Jak capellano ydoneo intrando cure sufficiente imbuto capellaniam perpetuam ad altare Sancti Petri apostoli infra ecclesiam parochialem dicti burgi situm fundatum, nuper de facto per puram dimissionem discreti viri domini Jacobi Newlanddis ultimi capellani et possessoris ejusdem vacantem et ad nostram collationem seu donationem de jure spectantem unacum fructibus redditibus terris et proventibus eidem dotatis et pertinentiis curam regimen et administrationem dicti altaris juxta tenorem foundationis ejusdem in quantum de jure et consuetudine possumus sibi quiete tenendam necnon eundem dominum Wilelmum Jak in realem actualem et corporalem specifati altaris possessionem ac pertinentiorum ejusdem investivisse et instituisse instituereque et investire presentium tenore per libri calicis et aliorum ornamentorum huiusmodi altaris traditionem et deliberationem Quare universis et singulis interesse habentibus seu putenibus ad quorum notitias presentes pervenerint seu dinoscuntur precipimus et mandamus quatenus praelibato domino Wilermo Jak de universis fructibus

redditibus et proventibus memorati altaris et nulli alteri prompte pareant obediant et intendant sub pena juris. In cujus rei testimonium et fidem premissorum presentes litteras sive presens publicum instrumentum huiusmodi nostram collationem sive donationem in se continentes seu continens per notarium publicum subscriptum subscribi et publicari sigillique nostri communis jussimus et fecimus appensione communiri. Datum et actum apud dictum burgum infra predictam ecclesiam sub anno incarnationis Dominice M^o quingentesimo vicesimo secundo mense vero Martii die xviii indictione xi pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Adriani divina providentia Pape sexti anno primo hora decima ante meridiem presentibus ibidem Wilelmo Widder- spoon, Thoma Hamilton, et David Newlandis, ballivis dicti burgi, Henrico Crechtoune domino de Ricartoun, Jacobo Robesoun, Roberto Danzelstoun, Johanne Spenss, Roberto Scot, Johanne Gowane, Georgeo Carebir, Roberto Robesoun, Wilelmo Sinclair.

Et ego Robertus Foulis clericus Sancti Andree diocesis publicus auctoritatibus imperiali regalique notarius, quia premissis donationi et institutioni ceterisque aliis et singulis dum sic ut premittitur fierent et agerentur unacum prenominationis testibus presens personaliter interfui eaque sic fieri dici vidi et audivi et in notam recepi indeque hoc presens publicum instrumentum manu mea propria scriptum confeci et meis signo et subscriptione manuali roboravi rogatus requisitusque in fidem et testimonium veritatis omnium premissorum unacum appensione sigilli communis antedicti propter majorem roboris securitatem.

Printed by
Oliver and Boyd
Edinburgh



of C



